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CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE HISTORY OF THE DURHAM DIALECTS

AN ORTHOGRAPHICAL INVESTIGATION

BY

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LIC. PHIL.

BY PERMISSION OF THE PHILOSOPHICAL FACULTY OF LUND TO BE
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RÖHR'S BOKTRYCKERI

1922

Contributions to the History of the Durham Dialects

An orthographical investigation

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PREFACE.

The present work was begun some ten years ago, and in 1913 a preliminary sketch of the subject was presented as an examination essay. Work on the enlarging and completion of this has been repeatedly interrupted by circumstances beyond my control. The protracted period of preparation and the long interruptions have caused inconsistencies both in the general treatment of the material at hand and in various accessories, which latter, I hope, will be deemed to be of minor importance.

It gives me great pleasure to express my respectful and sincere thanks to my teacher in English, Professor E. Ekwall, at whose suggestion this piece of research was undertaken and who has kindly encouraged me and given me much valuable advice, especially during the earlier stages of my work.

My gratitude is further due to my friend, Dr. E. O. Holmqvist, of Stockholm, for bringing to my knowledge some recent publications bearing on the subject of my researches.

I have also to acknowledge my obligation to Mr. F. J. Fielden, M. A., Lektor at the University of Lund, who has revised my manuscript from the point of view of style.

Eskestuna, April 1922.

A. Vikar.

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Abbreviations and Signs

AN = Anglo-Norman

c. = (1) century; (2) circa

e = early

(O)F = (Old) French

L(at.) = Latin

l = late

ME = Middle English

MSc = Middle Scottish

mod. = modern

NE = New English

NSc = New Scottish

(O)Nhbn = (Old) Northumbrian

(OE)Scn = (Old East) Scandinavian

OWScn = Old West

pa. ptc. = past participle

pers. n. = personal name

pl. n. = place-name

pl. = plural

pron. = pronunciation, pronounced

rec. sp. = received speech

Sc = Scottish

sg. = singular

StE = Standard English

/ / = old pronunciation

[] = modern pronunciation

> = has become

< = derived from

~ = alternating with

Abbreviations of names of counties and dialect districts are the same as those used in EDG.

For the phonetic notation of Middle English pronunciations I have employed the symbols used by Luick in *Historische Grammatik*, but the Northumbrian modification of $\bar{a}$ is denoted by $i\bar{y}$. Modern pronunciations are generally quoted in Wright's EDG transcript.

Introductory.

The material upon which the following investigation is primarily based has been collected from some of the volumes contained in the Publications of the Surtees Society. Here follows a list of the volumes I have gone through, together with a short account of the texts themselves.

DAssR = *Two Thirteenth-Century Assize Rolls for the County of Durham*, in *Miscellanea*, vol. II, ed. K. E. Bailey, no. 127, 1916. — The first roll, pp. 1–74, dates from 1242, the second, pp. 75–105, from 1235–6. They are written entirely in Latin, the vernacular material being made up of names of places and persons.

DAR = *Extracts from the Account Rolls of the Abbey of Durham*, vol. I–III, ed. J. T. Fowler, nis. 99, 100, 103; 1898–1900. — By far the largest proportion of the material is taken from this most important series of documents, extending from c. 1300 to 1540, the year of the dissolution of the monastery. They are written in Latin, but native words are interspersed now and then, chiefly such as denote things for which there was no adequate Latin expression. In the later rolls, from about 1400 onwards, the native element becomes more and more prominent. Some miscellaneous extracts in the vernacular, mostly belonging to the period following the Dissolution and printed in vol. III, have also been examined.

The rough drafts of the accounts must have been made by the officials who kept them, and it seems reasonable to suppose that the accounts themselves were at first copied out by the same officials. As time went on, however, the rolls became gradually longer and had to be left for copying to a professional scribe (see Bursar's Roll 1536–7,

p. 706: 'scribenti hunc compotum, 6 s. 8 d.' — the roll is 16 $\frac{1}{2}$ feet long).

FP = *The Charters, Inventories, and Account Rolls of the Priory of Finchale*, ed. J. Raine, no. 6, 1837. — The Priory of Finchale, 3 miles NE of Durham, on the Wear, was a branch detached from Durham Abbey in 1196. The rolls cover the period 1306–1529, and the Latin text is kept remarkably pure throughout the period, a number of native household words, however, being regularly handed over from one account to another. The earlier rolls seem to have been written out by the accountants themselves, there being no record of expenses for copying until after 1465.

JR, WR (WCorr) = *The Inventories and Account Rolls of the Monasteries of Jarrow and Monkwearmouth*, ed. J. Raine, no. 29. — The bulk of the volume is in mixed Latin, similar to that of the *DAR*, but at the end are subjoined a number of letters in the vernacular, referred to as *WCorr*. Jarrow is on the Tyne, not far from Newcastle, and Monk Wearmouth, together with Bishop Wearmouth, is the Sunderland of our days. Ellis informs us that Sunderland was a Scotch colony about the time of the Commonwealth, when it became a port, and most of the people are descended from the Scotch. Most of the queer pronunciations are not native (p. 653). It is a curious fact that some pure Scottish pronunciations are found in the *WCorr* (middle of 15th c.), see pp. 122, 124 of this book.

CoP (CoAcc) = *The Correspondence, Inventories, Account Rolls, and Law Proceedings, of the Priory of Coldingham*, ed. J. Raine, no. 12, 1841. — Most of the material from this volume has been supplied by some charters and by a series of letters from the Durham priors, all of them composed in English and belonging to the 15th century. The StE element is more prominent in these documents than in account rolls and inventories from the same time. Although situated within the territory of Scotland (on the

south-eastern coast), the Priory of C. was subordinate to the Church of Durham till the late 15th c. I have not hesitated to adduce some spellings from the accounts at the end of the volume (*CoAcc*). They generally represent the same type of language as the spellings from the other monasteries.

HoB = *The Durham Household Book*, ed. J. Raine, no. 18, 1844. — This volume contains the rough drafts of the Bursar's accounts for the period 1530–34, written by the Bursar himself. The framework is in Latin, but the special items are frequently given in the vernacular. The orthography must be characterized as irregular, if compared with that of the earlier texts.

GA = *The Grassmen's Accounts*, in *Memorials of St. Giles's, Durham*, ed. J. Barmby, no. 95, 1895. — The records extend from 1579 to 1782. The parish officials called *grassmen* had their accounts written out by persons more skilled in writing, but the spelling is wretched, anyhow, and the language is strongly mixed up with StE pronunciations. Still there are a good many unmistakable dialect forms that can be identified so as to serve our purpose.

The references placed after the spellings are generally to year and page, but only the date is added to quotations from *FP* and *CoAcc*, and the *HoB* forms are referred to the page where they occur. A figure within () after a spelling (or date) denotes the number of times the spelling occurs in the passage quoted.

The vast place-name material contained in the records has been utilized only in part. The chief portion of this book deals with organic developments of long vowels. Place-names, as being for the most part compound word-types, were subject to quantitative reductions, and accordingly have to be handled with great caution in this respect. In cases where their conclusive force was unobjection-

able, I have made use of such place-names as have been explained by previous writers on the subject (Lindkvist, Johnston), or whose derivation seemed perspicuous enough to be settled without entering upon toilsome disquisitions. Prof. Mawer's *Place-names of Northumberland and Durham* was not published at the time when my first chapters were printed; a few derivations in that portion will have to be revised according to M.'s statements: *Hebern* p. 14, *Alcambus* p. 17. The later chapters will be found to contain a considerable amount of spellings drawn from this source. Those portions of my treatise which deal with phenomena previous to the date of my own sources could not possibly have been written if this supplementary matter had not been at my disposal.

The primary material of course could be tackled only from an orthographical point of view. The important works on English phonology published within the last twenty years by Luick, Zachrisson, and W'ylde are all based essentially on orthography. In this place, therefore, I need not dwell upon the methods and general efficiency of orthographical research. In fact, it has turned out to be an indispensable means of securing first-hand details on Middle Engl. sound-developments. It should be added only, in regard to the present work, that I have endeavoured to check my own interpretations of old spellings by the mod. dial. pronunciations.

The language represented by our texts can be said in the first place to have been spoken within an area corresponding to Ellis's district 32², Wright's North Durham. But by the time our records begin, about 1300, the differentiation of the Nhbnd dialect cannot have advanced very far. For a general introduction into this early period of Northern English I refer to Dr. Murray's classical work on the Southern Scottish dialects (Prof. Skeat gives a concise

sketch of the same matter in his *Engl. Dialects*). For the mod. dialect Dr. Ellis will be found a guide of unrivalled competence; EEP pp. 637 ff. The North Durham dialect is variety 2 within the North Northern district (32), including Nhb except the northern slopes of the Cheviot Hills, a small portion of nCum, nDur. The dialect of South Durham forms variety 6 within the West Northern district (31), including sDur, w & mCum, Wm and the hilly parts of the wRiding of Yks, nLan (described by Ellis, pp. 537, 556). The mod. material adduced for comparison is taken from north and south Durham and occasionally from other northern districts, esp. se & sw Nhb. In nDur the genuine pronunciations are largely replaced by standard forms, but the sDur dial. is far less influenced in this respect. The influence of StE is so conspicuous a feature of the growth of the dialect that it could not be passed over in silence. One portion of the book, Ch. II, deals exclusively with this phenomenon as it appears within a certain phonetic category, viz. orig. $\bar{a}$ -words.

The early material would no doubt have sufficed to form the basis of a fairly complete phonology of the dialect down to 1600, but after writing some chapters I had to retrench my original plan of treating the subject in full. I accordingly picked out some problems that seemed to me to be of more general interest. The development of the long vowels forms the subject of Ch. I and III—VII. This process may be characterized as a spontaneous upward movement of front vowels, and a forward and upward movement of the mixed vowel $\bar{a}$, i. e. a general palatalization. A corresponding velar movement of the back vowels does not take place, but the $\bar{o}$ is affected by the palatalizing tendency, its basis of articulation being shifted, more or less completely, towards that of $\bar{y}$. The high-back vowel $\bar{u}$ is kept unchanged until quite recent times. Under the operation of this tendency the high-front $\bar{i}$ was split into

a diphthong which then began a downward movement, stopping generally at the stage [ei], but in some cases reaching [ai]. Even theoretical considerations will lead to the inference that this palatal modification affected all the vowels concerned at the same time. The results are all reflected in spelling within the former half of the 14th c. In view of the way in which these revolutionizing changes were brought about in the North. dialects, they may justly be said to constitute the great vowel shift of English. [Cf. Western, *Über die neuengl. Vokalverschiebung*, ESt 45, pp. 1–8; J. Mařík, ESt 46, pp. 188 ff.]

Ch. VIII–X deal with some central problems that have been repeatedly treated elsewhere. Here, as in this treatise in general, my purpose has been to trace the developments within a strictly defined area with a special view to affording reliable data towards an absolute chronology.

I regret that I have not been able to include a systematic treatment of the diphthongs. What there is to be gathered from my material — old and modern — in regard to eME *ai*, *ei*, is given in Ch. I, and eME *eu*, *au*, *ou* are incidentally touched upon now and then. The origin and development of the various *au*-diphthongs of the dialect is a problem as interesting as it is difficult, but it will have to be left to future research.

I wish to add, in conclusion, that one portion of the book, Ch. I–III and part of Ch. IV, was already printed in 1918. A few statements made there (Scottish *ɪ*-diphthongs, p. 49, treatment of final *ɜ* after front vowels, p. 53) have been modified or completed in the later chapters (pp. 74, 103).

I.

OE *æ*, *e*, *ē*, followed by palatal *ʃ*; Scn *ei*.

eME *ā* (<OE *ā* and *ǣ*-).

(Bülbring, §§ 460, 494, 497, 505; Luick, Studien p. 151.)

Spellings:

DAssR: (2) *Garmundesway* (2) 1235—6, 83, 85; *garmandeway* 1235—6, 101; *Garmundeweie* 1235—6, 91; *Garmundeseye* 1242, 24 (OE *weʒ*)

(3) *H. de Greystane* 1235—6, 98; *Grayfot* pers. n. 1242, 39; *Will. de Greistanes* (2) 1242, 43, 44 (OAngl *ʒrēʒ*)

(4) *Swayn de Stanhop* 1242, 40 (Scn *Sveinn*)

DAR: (1) *sponail* c. 1310, 511; 1328, 515, etc.; *in 600 lednall* 1373—4, 579; *tyngylnaile* 1377—8, 587; *lednayl* 1404, 395; *coupenalis* 'coop-nails' 1461—2, 153; *ledenale* 1476—7, 95; *playnchournale* 1480—1, 96; *3 m' nallez* 1487—8, 651; *lattnalis*, *Bordnalis* 1509—10, 105; *tyngylnalles* 1510—11, 291; *c^{ma} brodnales*, *c bordnale* 1517, 293; *Burdnaylles* 1534—5, 111 (OE *næʒl*)

Wayn 1322, 375, etc., but *waneman* 1536—7, 703 (OE *wæʒn*)

(2) *Saylwandis* 1342—3, 543; *Sayl* 1351—2, 553 (2); *saleyerd* c. 1380, 181; *Sayl* c. 1419?, 616, etc. (OE *seʒl*)

les Watrewawes 'water-ways' 1340—1, 540; *waylefe* 'wayleave' 1427—8, 709, etc.

(3) *Gray* adj. 1377—8, 586; 1380, 590

les hayhous 1370—1, 576; *le Haybarn* 1423—4, 619; *haye* 1544, 723 (OAngl *héʒ*)

FP: (1) *nayle* 1354; *lednall*, *shotnaill* 1367; *j nalyng-hamer*, *ij nayltolis*, *axilnalis* 1465; *brodnale* 1482—3; *-nayllis* (2) 1484—5.

wandclots 'wain-clouds' 1397; *j cowpwayn*, *ijj cupwanys* 1465.

(2) *Garmundesway* 1316—1441 *passim* (once *Garmundesweyth* 1388—9).

(3) *Th. Graystones* 1355; *Hebern* 1415—6, pl. name, cf. under *HoB* below.

Of *nægl* and *wægn* the following spellings occur in

FR: *wanerapis* 1362; *schotnall*, *brodnaill* 1368; *thaknaile*, *strakenaile*, *waynrupes*, *nailtole* 1370; *thak naill*, *straknaile*, *waynrupes*, *nailtole* 1371; *nayletule* (2) 1373; *schonaill*, *brodnayl*, *nayltolys* 1382; *wayncloutys* 1384; *wanclowtts* 1385; *couperwanys* 1416; *brodnayll*, *burdnayll* 1454; *nailtole*, *langwanys*, *cowpewanys*, *weynreppys* 1491 (a); *nayltoyl*, *langwanys*, *cowpewanys*, *waynreppys* 1491 (b); in

WR: *cowpwayn*, *auxilnayls* 1370; *coupwayn*, *auxilnayles* 1378; *cowpwaynebody*, *waynerape* 1394; *langwaine* 1414; *nayl* 1424; *coupwane3* 1447; *waynewheles* 1448; *brodnell* 1453; *coupwayn* 1473; *bordnall* 1476; *brodnayll* 1484; *brodnall* 1487; *langwannys* 1488; *extrenalis*, *langwanys*, *shortwanys*, *waynrappys* 'axle-tree nails' etc. 1505.

CoP: (2) *sayd* pa. ptc. 1414, 86; *sadd* 1441, 118; *seyd* 1442, 127; 1444, 153

alwey 1444, 153; *alway* 1446, 157 'always'

(4) *rayse* 'to raise' 1414, 86 (Scn *reisa*).

The following forms of Scn *þeim* 'them' are found in *WCorr*: *yaim* (2) c. 1447, 241; *thaim* 1459, 244; *yame*, *yeme* 1461, 245. In *WR* we meet with another Scn loan-word of this group, represented by the spellings *ferilay* 1407, 89, *ferilaw* 1421, 194, *ferila* 1428, 197, *ferilay* 1437, 248 (Scn *leiga* 'hire, toll'. NED s. v. *Lay* sb.²).

HoB: (3) *Hebbarne* pl. n. 7 etc., *Hebbayrne* 89.

GA: (2) *wayes* 1580, 11, etc., *waies* 1628, 56

(3) *haye* 1579, 9; *hay* 1580, 10 etc.; *haige* 1647 (f), 67.

We observe in the above material that the usual spelling *ai* is often replaced by *a*, sometimes by *e*, *ey*, or even *aw*. It will be convenient to take down the deviations in chronological order:

<i>wawes</i> DAR 1340	<i>nalynghamer, axilnalis, cup-</i>
<i>wanerapis</i> JR 1362	<i>wanys</i> FP 1465
<i>lednall</i> FP 1367	<i>bordnall</i> WR 1476
<i>schotnall</i> JR 1368	<i>ledenale</i> DAR 1476—7
<i>lednall</i> DAR 1373	<i>playnchournale</i> DAR 1480—1
<i>saleyerd</i> » c. 1380	<i>brodnale</i> FP 1482—3
<i>wanclowtts</i> JR 1385	<i>nallez</i> DAR 1487—8
<i>wandclots</i> FP 1397	<i>brodnall</i> WR 1487
<i>ferilaw</i> WR 1421	<i>langwannys</i> WR 1488
<i>ferila</i> » 1428	<i>langwanys</i> (2), <i>cowperwanys</i> (2),
<i>sadd</i> CoP 1441	<i>weynreppys</i> JR 1491
<i>seyd</i> » 1442, 1444	<i>extrenalis, langwanys, short-</i>
<i>alwey</i> » 1444	<i>wanys</i> WR 1505
<i>coupwanez</i> WR 1447	<i>lattnalis, Bordnalis</i> DAR 1509
<i>brodnell</i> » 1453	—10
<i>yame, yeme</i> WCorr 1461	<i>tyngylnalles</i> DAR 1510—11
<i>cowpenalys</i> DAR 1461—2	<i>brodnales, brodnale</i> DAR 1517
	<i>waneman</i> DAR 1536—7.

This almost free interchange between *ai* and *a* shows that both had the same phonetic value from the second half of the 14th century at least, or, which amounts to the same thing, that (*ai*) and (*ā*) had become levelled under one sound, a monophthong. This statement is also supported by the abundant use in our texts of *ai* for original *ā*, for which see pp. 4 and 20 ff.

We shall now have to settle the quality of this monophthong, i. e. we must try to ascertain the development of eME *ā*, as illustrated by spellings in our texts. Since it is well known that OE *ā* did not change into *ē* in the North, we are concerned here with two kinds of /*ā*/, viz. the equivalents of

eME *ā* and of eME *ǣ* in open syllables. It will suffice to give a select list of spellings. The *ā*-forms from *ƳR* and *WR* are given in full in order that the use of *ai*, *ay* for /*ā*/ may be illustrated at the same time.

ƳR:

stanaxes, *saes* 'soes', *cartrayp*, *grapes* 'forks', *wanerapis*, *wyndowclayk* (= *clayth*) 'winnowing-cloth', *crawe* 'crow-bar' 1362; *stane*, *strakenaile* (a stroke = part of the rim of a wheel), *saes*, *cartrape*, *spakes* 'spokes of a wheel', *grapes*, *waynrapes*, *wyndowlath* (= *clath*) 1370; *straknaile*, *saes*, *cartrape*, *spakes*, *graypes*, *waynrapes*, *wynweclath*, *crawe* 1371; *Utting zaar*, *Stanysaare* (yare = a dam) 1372; *saes*, *stane-axes*, *grapes*, *-clathe*, *crawe* 1373; *Utzar* 1376; *stanaxis*, *craw*, *grapys* 1382; *saas*, *grapys*, *rapis*, *clath*, *stane* 1408; *-clath*, *saas*, *ladesadills* 1416. *Milnezayr*, *Prestzayr*, *unius zayr* 1431; *Bredyare* (= Broad-) 1467; *staynmorter*, *sa*, *says* 1480; *stan*, *say*, *rape*, *says*, *grapys*, *spadys*, *crayn* (the machine, OE *cran*), *weyscales*, *weynreppys* 1491 (a); *stane*, *saye*, *rape*, *botwtyng-clays*, *horskeme*, *grayppys*, *crayn*, *spaydes*, *weyschelys*, *waynreppys* 1491 (b).

WR:

bultelathes, *strakis*, *grapis*, *sydrapis*, *stan* 1370; *-clathes*, *spakes*, *grapis*, *sydrapis* 1378; *Ƴ. Stayngrene* pers. n. 1389, 1390; *-claths*, *saas*, *stane*, *spakys*, *graps*, *kartrape* 1394; *says*, *ladsadeles*, *grapis* 1398; *grapis*, *spadis* 1408; *sclatstanes* 1414; *spadys*, *clathys* 1488; *says*, *spadys*, *waynrapys*, *irencraw* 1505.

Further instances:

Co Acc: *Mathæus Crak* (2), immediately after 1298, c and civ; *Waltero de Crayk* 1343; *Walteri de Crek* 1348; *Waltero de Crayke* 1350; *Ada de Craykes* 1371.

CoP: *Willielmus Craike* 1422, 94. — Properly the bird, named from its cry; ME *craken* to cry out (Skeat). This onomatope seems to contain original *ā* (cf. Scn *kráka*). — *liveledd* 1438, 110, OE *líf* + *lād*; *brotherhed* 1441, 116 (OE *hād*).

Meason pers. n. *DAR* 1443—4, 411 (OF *masson*) (cf. *Mayson* ib. 1465—6, 412); *Weyscill* ib. 1447—8, 87 (probably < OWSen *skál* 'a bowl' or else < OE **scalu*, cf. Björkman p. 92); *Spekys* 'spokes' *DAR* 1454, 150; *Bredbery WCorr* c. 1460, 246.

Now it should be kept in mind that we cannot expect our scribes to denote the presumed new sound of $\bar{a}$ by means of e : this symbol would have been too ambiguous since it was already used for the equivalents of eME $/\bar{e}/$ and $/\bar{e}/$. Nevertheless, when it does occur it is used to express $/\bar{e}/$ < $/\bar{e}/$ < $/\bar{a}/$; *Bredbery*, *Bredyare*, *weynreppys*, *horskeme*, *liveledd*, *brotherhed*, *spekys*. Of direct evidence from the 14th c. there is very little. From the Durham district I have found only the spelling *ij. ventilebra* *JR* 1382, apparently a phonetic spelling of Lat. *ventilābrum* 'a sieve, riddle', but I think this will suffice to indicate that the articulation of $\bar{a}$ was by this time quite essentially modified in the direction of $\bar{e}$. The form *Meason* $/m\bar{e}ʃən/$ 1443, with *ea* adopted from StE orthography, thus belongs to a comparatively late period of the $\bar{e}$ -pronunciation.¹⁾

It will be noticed that the Coldingham spellings of the family name *Crak* presuppose that *ay* was a monophthong, pronounced as original $\bar{a}$, in 1343, and that $\bar{a}$ was pronounced $/\bar{e}/$ (or perhaps $/\bar{e}/$), in 1348. As I have found no test of so early a date in Durham records, it may be that the change was, in fact, carried out earlier in the Scotch border district.

I think we need not hesitate now to infer from our spellings that *ai* and $\bar{a}$ were pronounced $/\bar{e}/$ in the language of our records by the middle of the 14th century. Our conclusion will be the better confirmed by the subsequent development of $\bar{a}$, which is to be dealt with later on.

¹⁾ Of the northern word *afaud* 'single' (< OE *ánfeald*, see NED s. v. *Afald*) *CoAcc* 1371 etc. the NED gives a 16th c. form *efald*, corresponding to *effa(u)ld* 17th c., where $/e/$ is shortened from earlier $/\bar{e}/$ < $\bar{a}$.

It has been observed that *ai* in Northern and Sc texts was kept longer in final position than elsewhere (see e. g. Heuser, *Anglia* XVII, p. 91 ff., and cf. Morsbach, p. 191). It is not easily decided whether this was a traditional spelling only or whether it really did express a diphthongal pronunciation. In our texts there are no instances of final *a* for older *ai*. But such spellings as *says* WR 1398, *ſR* 1480, *say*, *says* ib. 1491, *Watersay* DAR 1487, 651, *clays* (/p/ dropped finally) ib. (*saye* ib.), *says* WR 1505 seem to suggest that *ay* when final did not differ much from older *ā*.

We must devote a few words to the sporadic form *-wawes* 'ways' DAR 1340. It cannot possibly represent an existing pronunciation, for OE *wegas* yielded eME *weies*, later on spelt *way(e)s*. The present spelling is a mistake of the scribe's: he pronounced the regular ME plur. *dawes* (< OE *dagas*) with the vowel sound of the sg. *dai*: thus to him *wawes* came to have the phonetic value of *wayes*.

When dealing with the use of *ai* for /ē/ in native words, it will be necessary to pay some attention also to the practice observed by our scribes in rendering the French diphthong denoted by *ai*. I give the material first.

DAssR:

ſ. de Beglolo, *ſ. de Baillol*, *de baiolo*, *Baielo* 1242, 9—10 (< Lat. *bāiulus* 'a porter, carrier').

DAR:

j aventale 1404, 395 'front of a helmet' (< F *ventaille*) *Deyria* c. 1330, 518; *Deyr* (= *Deyria*) 1334—5, 525; 1335—6, 528; *Daye* (2) 'dairy-man' 1339—41, 311; *dayaria* 1347—8, 545; 1354—5, 555 (AN *deyerre* = *laiterie*; F *daie*, *deie*. Gadde p. 22).

j fraell 1309—10, 8; *frayel* 1389, 48; 2 *frayels* 1403, 51; 1 *frale*, 1 *frayle* 1457, 636 (OF *frayel* 'a frail, rush: a basket made of rushes').

furnayse 1318, 374 (OF *fornaise*).

grain 1335—6, 527; *granes* 1523—4, 666 'grains of paradise' (OF *grain*).

hayres 1313—4, 512; *hair* 1335—6, 528; *1 hayr* 1360—1, 563; *uno hayer* 1370—1, 576; 1384—5, 594; *le Har*, *Har threde* 1454—5, 634; *hayr* 1536—7, 697 'haircloth' (OF *haire*).

le Mesondieu 1354—5, 555; *del Mesyndow* 1368—9, 575 (= *Domus Dei*).

Raycynys 1278, 486; *Resyns sanz pepyn* 1348—9, 549; *Raisins* (2) 1364, 44; *rasins* 1371—3, 577; *Razynges* 1388, 48; *Raysyns* 1390—1, 597; *Rasynges* 1407, 52; *Rasyng* (2) 1408—9, 608; *Raysyng* 1409, 53) OF *raisin*).

strayles 1309 (i), 506; *1 par de strayls*, *1 strail* 1396—7, 214; *1 pari de Strayles* 1398—9, 215; 1429—30, 710; *straillez* 1456, 243; *v paria de le stralez* 1472, 246 'blankets' (< Lat. *stragula*).

2 paribus de Trays c. 1365—6, 568; *2 par' de traicez* 1390—1, 391; *4^{or} paribus de traices*, *10 par. de trays* 1399—1400, 601; *4 trasys* 1404, 397; *lez tracez del char* 1405—6, 400; *6 paria de Trayse nova* 1408—9, 607; *1 payr de Pyn-tracez* c. 1440, 626; *1 pyntrase* 1440—1, 627; *pyntracez*, *nydletraces* 1536—7, 697 'trace(s)'. (The F plur. *traits* was often mistaken for the sg., hence *traicez* etc.).

Instances of final *ai*:

grene Ray, *blonket Ray* c. 1420, 617 etc.; (72) *rayis* (3) c. 1450, 633; *rayes* 1453—4, 633 'striped cloth, stripe' (OF *ray*, L *radius*).

saya 1299, 494; *Lincolnesaye* 1309, 506; *say* 1428—9, 709; 1440—1, 627 'a kind of serge' (OF *saie* < L plur. *saga*); the first form with Latin ending.

ſR:

trays 1362, *traces*, *dairia* (2) 1373, *straylls*, *trays*, *daria* (2) 1382, *deyria* 1408, *strayllis*, *trasys* 1416, *traycez* 1432, *trasys* 1436, *trasez* 1491 (a), *trese* 1491 (b).

WR:

traicez 1390, *trayss* 1394, *tracys* 1505.

HoB:

sewyngghayre, *sewyngghar* 68—9.

There seems to be no doubt whatever as to the pronunciation of *ai* in the later period of AN. I refer to Stimming, p. VIII: 'Ursprüngliches *ai* vor Kons. hat den Lautwert ϵ .' 'Im Auslaut behielt *ai* diphthongischen Charakter und reimt mit *ei* aus vlt. $\bar{e}$, z. B. *sai*, *dirrai* mit *mei* u. $\bar{a}$.' This statement refers to Boeve de Haumtone, which was composed, according to S., in the first half of the 13th c. (o. c. p. LVIII).

A few spellings will show that the F loan-words of this class were pronounced by our scribes in fair accordance with the AN pronunciation. Thus the somewhat corrupted forms from *DAssR* 1242 no doubt imply the older diphthongal value of *ai*, whereas later spellings such as *Resyns DAR* 1348—9, *Mesondieu* ib. 1354—5, *Mesyndow* ib. 1368—9, *trese JR* 1491 on the one hand, and *uessaille* 'vessel' *JR* 1370 (AN *vessel*), *barayll* ib. 1382 (ME *barel*, F *baril*) on the other, point with equal certainty to $[\bar{e}]$ as the received pron. of F *ai*. This pronunciation is exactly parallel to that claimed above for the native words; and the spellings of the loan-words offer a true parallel to those observed in the native ones. Thus the symbol *a* was used, from the latter half of the 14th c., to denote $[\bar{e}]$, as in: *Rasins DAR* 1371—3, *traces JR* 1373, *daría* (2) ib. 1382, *Rasynges DAR* 1388, *strales FP* 1397, *aventale DAR* 1404, *trasys* ib. 1404, *traces* ib. 1405—6, *Rasynges* ib. 1407, 1408—9, *trasys JR* 1436, *Pyntraces DAR* c. 1440, *pyntrase* ib. 1440—1, *le Har* (2) ib. 1454, *frále* (*frayle*) ib. 1457, *strales* ib. 1472, *trases JR* 1491, *trasys WR* 1505, *granes DAR* 1523—4, *-har HoB* 1530—4, *-trases* (2) *DAR* 1536—7. Since we cannot well credit our scribes with being so subtle as to assign *one* value

to *ai*, *a* in native words, and another in French loan-words, it will be acknowledged that the orthography of the F words affords another criterion in support of the sound-change vindicated above.

In this connection some remarks must be made concerning the origin of the symbol *ai* for orig. /ā/ as used in our texts as well as in other Northern and Scotch texts from the 14th c. onwards. It is generally held that this *ai* is an inverted spelling which was adopted, after /ai/ was monophthonged to /ā/, as a convenient means of denoting vowel-length (see e. g. Morsbach p. 190). If this be right, we should naturally expect the spelling to appear only some time after the monophthonging of /ai/ was generally recognized. Now the first instances of *ai* for /ā/ are *Crayk CoAcc* 1343, *Crayke* ib. 1350. Next come *cartrayp*, *wyndowclayk* (= -clayth) *JR* 1362, whereas *a* for /ai/ does not appear until in this latter roll. With these spellings should be compared the place-name form *Maylros Co Acc* 1332 (*Melros* ib. c. 1298, LXXXVI; *Melross* ib. c. 1441, 247).¹⁾ This occasional early *ai* = ē, ě is, of course, the F digraph *ai*, which had now the value of /ē/ and was found a handy and unambiguous symbol for the identical native sound. There can be no doubt then that F orthography gave the first impulse to this spelling, and it seems preferable to ascribe its subsequent extension chiefly to F influence also. In a similar way, the F *ou* was adopted for older *u* = /ū/. It is true that the striking parallel between the origin and use of *ou* and *ai* in NoEngl and Sc orthography is somewhat disturbed by the fact that *ai* is far from being so regularly accepted as *ou*. As to the frequency of *ai* for ā in standard Sc of the middle

¹⁾ *Mellorys* ib. 1366 is to be connected with the pron. mentioned by Murray p. 123: 'After *e* and *i*, L is pronounced, the only exception occurring to me being *Melrose*, which is called by country folk *Meuross*, *Meuress*'.

period, Ackermann gives the following information (p. 31): 'Erst in der zweiten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts wird die Schreibung *ai* für $\bar{a}$ in den Parlamentsakten ganz gebräuchlich'.¹⁾ We must give a short account of the facts here. In the first half of the 14th c., *u* came to be used for the new sound developed from OE $\bar{o}$, perhaps owing to the close affinity of this sound to F /y/ (see under $\bar{o}$). By this time, then, three different values were connected with *u*, viz.: (1) / $\ddot{u}$ /, (2) / $\bar{u}$ /, (3) the equivalent of OE $\bar{o}$. It is by no means surprising, therefore, that the scribes, who were familiar with *ou* in F loan-words and French (esp. Anglo-Norman) writing in general, began to use it in native words as well, so as to free themselves from a troublesome ambiguity. Before long *ou* had thoroughly supplanted *u*. On the other hand, the want of a new sign for original / $\bar{a}$ / was less keenly felt, since *a* denoted / $\check{a}$ / or / $\bar{a} > \bar{e}$ / only; hence the substitution of *ai* for *a* was carried out only in part.

It follows from this that the current value of the symbol *ai*, *ay* in our texts, from the middle of the 14th c. onwards, is $\bar{e}$ (sometimes $\check{e}$). A group of obvious exceptions to this rule will be found on p. 14.

As was hinted above, most scholars who deal with this subject are of opinion that *ai* coincided with $\bar{a}$ while this was still pronounced / $\bar{a}$ / . The process of coincidence, as made out by Luick (Unters. § 215 etc., p. 203), may be tabulated as follows:

	14th c.	3rd quarter of 16th c.	modern
OE $\alpha\check{\bar{z}}$	$\left. \begin{array}{l} > ai > \bar{a} \\ > ei > ai > \bar{a} \\ \bar{a} \\ \check{a} \end{array} \right\} \longrightarrow \bar{a}$		
OE $e\check{\bar{z}}$			
OE $\bar{a}$		$> \bar{e}$	$> \bar{e}$
OE $\check{a}$			

Ackermann (p. 28 ff.) agrees with Luick in the main,

¹⁾ Shortening in Sc. of / $\bar{e}$ /, written *ai*, would naturally lead to the adoption of this symbol for / $\bar{e}$ /; hence spellings such as *thaim*, *wailcum frainsch*, etc. (Murray, DSS p. 145).

but thinks the monophthonging was not completed until c. 1450. With a view to settling this question in accordance with the results indicated by our spellings, we shall have to enter upon a short investigation into the previous history of the sound represented by *ai* in our records.

Leaving out of account, for the present, the evidence afforded by our spellings, we observe that Luick's theory implies the difficult development $ei > ai > \bar{a} > \bar{e}$, which, although not impossible, is still not very probable, as was pointed out by Curtis (*Anglia* XVI, p. 432). It means, further, that eME $\bar{a}$ was kept unchanged for centuries, while at the same time the diphthong *ei* was hurrying through a really break-neck series of developments. I therefore accede to one of the suggestions advanced by Curtis (l. c.): Of the original diphthongs *ai* (< OE $\text{æ}\ddot{\text{g}}$) and *ei* (< OE $\text{e}\ddot{\text{g}}$, $\bar{\text{e}}\ddot{\text{g}}$), the former was approximated to the latter so as to become ei , then both coincided and were monophthonged to $[\bar{e}]$. Now the instances from *DAssR* have *ei*, *ey* quite as often as *ay* (see p. 1), whereas in the later rolls the diphthong is written *ay*, *ai* with practically unfailing regularity. This cannot mean that the 13th century $[\text{ei}]$ changed into $[\text{ai}]$. The substitution of *ay* for *ey* is nothing but a matter of orthography. We shall see later on (under $\bar{\text{e}}\ddot{\text{g}}$) that *ey* came to be used especially for the sound resulting from OE $\bar{\text{e}} + \text{guttural } \ddot{\text{g}}$ and, secondarily, for the equivalent of eME $\bar{\text{e}}$. Under such circumstances, *ey* could no longer serve as an appropriate symbol for $[\text{ei}]$ < OE e , $\bar{\text{e}} + \text{palatal } \ddot{\text{g}}$, and *ai* in this function is to be looked upon as an inverted spelling which came into use after eME $[\text{ai}]$ < OE $\text{æ}\ddot{\text{g}}$ was modified to $[\text{ei}]$.

I have come across a few late instances of *ey* (and *e*) for usual *ay* (< OE $\text{e}\ddot{\text{g}}$, Scn *ei*): *Garmundesweyth FP* 1388—9; *seyd CoP* 1442, 1444, *alwey* ib. 1444; *yeme* 'them' *WCorr* 1461 (*ey*, *e* for OE $\text{æ}\ddot{\text{g}}$; *brodnell WR* 1453, *weynreppys FR* 1491). Distinctly anomalous as these spellings are, they still go to prove that the pronunciation cannot possibly have been $[\bar{a}]$ at the date of the spellings.

A table of the changes, as suggested by the spellings, will look like this:

		before 1300	c. 1350
OE $\text{æ}\ddot{\text{g}}$	$> ai > \text{æ}i$	$\left. \begin{array}{l} > ei \\ > ei \\ > ei \end{array} \right\} > ei$	$> \bar{e}$
OE $e\ddot{\text{g}}$	$> ei$		
OE $\bar{e}\ddot{\text{g}}$	$\longrightarrow$		
OE $\bar{a}$	$\longrightarrow$	$\longrightarrow$	$> \bar{e}$
OE $\bar{a}$			

On the preceding pages we have only aimed at interpreting our material from an internal point of view, and our statements apply only to the language of the scribes. It will be necessary now to determine whether this type of development belongs to the Dur. dialect or not. We therefore proceed to an examination of the modern dialects.

If OE $\text{æ}\ddot{\text{g}}$, $e\ddot{\text{g}}$, $\bar{e}\ddot{\text{g}}$, $\bar{a}$, $\bar{a}$ coincided under $|\bar{e}|$ in ME times, we should expect all of them to be represented in the pres. diall. by the equivalent of ME $|\bar{e}| < |\bar{a}|$. Now any handbook on this matter will inform as that this is actually the case with regard to central and north-eastern Sc., where the following pronunciations obtain: [$n\bar{e}l$] 'nail', [$s\bar{e}l$] 'sail', [$gr\bar{e}$] 'gray', [$br\bar{e}d$] 'broad', [$n\bar{e}m$] 'name', whereas in sSc and some of the NoE dialects OE $\text{æ}\ddot{\text{g}}$, $e\ddot{\text{g}}$, $\bar{e}\ddot{\text{g}}$ on the one hand, and OE $\bar{a}$, $\bar{a}$ on the other, are still kept distinct, thus: nDur [$n\bar{e}l$], [$s\bar{e}l$], [$gr\bar{e}$], [$hjem$, $j\bar{e}m$] 'home', [$njem$]; sDur [$n\bar{e}l$], [$r\bar{e}n$] 'rain', [$gr\bar{e}$], [$br\bar{e}d$], [$n\bar{e}m$] (Wright Ind., Ellis p. 635, 672 etc., Curtis Anglia XVI, p. 428 ff., Luick Unters. § 220 etc.). The boundary lines of this latter district are drawn by Curtis, o. c., p. 430: 'We may, then, roughly speaking, say that a straight line drawn from Hull to the NE corner of Morecambe Bay, where the Ken empties itself, is the boundary line, to the N. of which, as far as to the Northern limits of Ellis's D. 33, ME $\bar{a}$ & ai do not coincide, while to the S. of it they do. A small part of Yorks. would be on the wrong side of the

line, S. instead of N., and perhaps more of central Yorks. ought to be to the S. of the boundary line'. We must infer from this that *ai* and *ā* have always been kept apart in the Dur. dialect. Yet we cannot but maintain our opinion that the spellings of the Durham, Finchale, Jarrow, and Wearmouth, as well as the Coldingham, records do really imply the leveling of *ai* and *ā* under /*ē*/, which is now recognized as a special characteristic of Sc. To account for this curious fact we must argue as follows.

It is a well-known fact that the Scottish orthography arising from these sound-changes was used in NoE texts also (see, e. g., Luick Unters. § 369). Luick seems to think that the Scotch influence was confined to this. But the matter should be looked into a little more closely. Dr. Murray has pointed out that the written language seems to have been, in early times, the same for the whole of the area between the Tees and the Forth, and the identity was preserved, in all essential respects, in the earlier part of the 15th c. But after the final establishment of Scotland as a distinct nationality, the written language of Scotland became more and more conformed to that type of the Northern speech which was spoken on the shores of the Forth, the centre of political and ecclesiastical government, of the education, as well as the commerce of the kingdom; and as a consequence, it came more and more to assume characteristics of its own (DSS, p. 51). I do not doubt that this statement is true in its chief points, but in my opinion the coincidence of *ai*, *ei* and *ā*, which forms the first distinct mark of a differentiation between Lowland Scots and Northern English, has already set in about 1350. Seeing that the monastic clerks within the county of Durham made use of this scotticism quite as freely as those of Coldingham Priory beyond the Scottish border, we do not hesitate to infer that Lowl Sc played at this time, to a certain extent, the part of a standard language of the North in general. In the sequel it will be an object

of great importance to point out the Standard Scottish elements occurring in our records.

We have failed so far to find any information in our texts as to the development of *ai*, *ei* in the Dur. dialect towards the present monophthong. There are, however, a few spellings suggesting the diphthongal pronunciation of final */ei/*. The F word *bai*, 'reddish brown', is written *bayy* in a letter in *WCorr* from c. 1460, p. 246. The same letter-writer spells 'boy' *boyy*. In *GA* we find *haige* 'hay' 1647 (?), 67. The spellings *haye* *WCorr* c. 1447, p. 243 (b), *haye* *GA* 1579, 9, *wayes* ib. 1580, 11, *waics* ib. 1628, 56, as against *hay* ib. 1580, 10 etc., may also be taken as attempts to point out that the *y* was pronounced. These texts are all distinctly vernacular, and the pronunciations inferred can be looked upon as genuine. The present pronunciations of *day*, *way*, *say*, *grey*, *hay*, *they* are: Dur [*dē*], nDur [*dɛɜ*]; Dur [*wē*], sDur [*wɛi*]; Dur [*sē*]; nDur [*grā*], sDur [*grē*]; nDur [*hɛɜ*], Dur [*ðe*] (EDG). Of these sDur [*wɛi*] appears to be a recent adoption from StE: Ellis gives only [*wē*] for 31⁶. Thus in some cases */ei/* has worn off to [*ɛɜ*], in others it has been completely monophthongized (*may* is Dur [*mē*], *slay* nDur [*slɛ*], *lay* inf. nDur [*lɛ*], *lay* pret. Dur [*lē*]; in other northern districts [*ɛɜ*] still prevails: swNhb [*seɜ*, *meɜ*, *slɛɜ*, *ðɛɜ*], nCum [*lɛɜ*] inf, [*ðɛɜ* + *ðē*]; or else [*ā*], as in nDur [*grā*], seNhb [*sā* + *se*], nCum [*sā* + *seɜ* + *sē*]).

In the compound *Haybarn* pl. n. (prob. originally a field-name), where the connection with the simplex was soon lost sight of, */ei/* was directly reduced to */ɛ/*: *Hebern FP* 1415, *Hebbarne HoB*.

Having thus pursued, as far as possible, the development of *ai*, *ei* > [ē] in Sc and NoE, we shall have to take up again the treatment of eME *ā*. We saw on p. 5 that the spellings pointed to an essential modification of this sound (to /ē/) as early as the 14th c. The final results of the development were given on p. 12: Sc [ē], nDur [je], sDur [iə].¹ Luick, *Unters.* § 208 ff., gives a detailed history of this development, the chief points of which I recapitulate here. He assigns to *ā* the value of /ē/ in Scotland and Northern England about the middle of the 16th c.: Smith (1568) gives (baan, bean), (staan, stean) as Sc pronunciations; ea = /ē/ (§ 258, 260). He then refers to Gill's information (1621) about the pronunciation of the 'Boreales' (here Yorkshire): 'Illis etiam frequens est (ea) pro (e), vt (meat) pro (meet) cibus; et pro (o), vt (beath) pro (both) ambo'. This ea means an *ea*-diphthong, and Gill's statement implies that /ē/ (orig. ē and ē < ā) was diphthongized in the dial. of the 'Boreales' (§ 237). This diphthongization is characterized by L. as follows: 'Der Ausgang der einfachen Länge ist zu einem der unbestimmten gemischten Vocale reducirt worden, ein Vorgang, den ich 'Abstumpfung' nennen möchte' (§ 61). Gill's account refers to the state of the dial. as it was in his youth (he was born in 1564), and L. arrives at the conclusion that the 'Abstumpfung' of the /ē/ < ā was completed in the North at the end of the 16th c. (§ 237, 258). The /ea/ resulting from this then proceeded to the vowel-extreme, i. e. to iə, ī.

In *HoB* 1530—34 we meet with a word which will afford some valuable information as to the later history of *ā*. The quotations are: *Et soluti 7 yayne messorum*, 8 *yayne messorum* 76; 7 *yayne* 127; 6 *yanes*, 16 *yane* 128; 4 *yayne*, 6 ~ 167; 8 *yayne*, 4 ~ 264. It means lit. 'one'. The glossary

¹) A detailed list of the mod. Dur. pronunciations will be given in the next chapter.

explains: 'It is here a harvest term. Three reapers, generally women, with a man to bind behind them, constitute a yane (the term is still in general use [1845]) or one — i. e. the complement for one ridge'. The spellings stand for / $\dot{z}\tilde{e}n$ /, which is a genuine Dur. pronunciation (mod. nDur [*jen*]), and they show that the product of the 'Abstumpfung' has already passed the vowel-extreme: the stress has been shifted to the second element of the diphthong, and the first element has become consonantal.¹⁾ Another indication as to the later pron. of orig. $\bar{a}$ is afforded by the spelling *y^e Ware GA* 1691, 89 'river Wear'. The pron. intended here is /*wiər*/, cf. *Wiri fluminis FP* 1407—8 etc.; we learn from this that *a* in open syllable followed by terminal *e* had the value of /*iə*/. Even if we allow the transition /*iə*/ > /*je*/ to have taken place earlier in initial position than medially after a consonant, it seems reasonable to assume that the stage /*iə*/ was reached by medial $\bar{a}$ quite as early as the stage /*je*/ by initial $\bar{a}$.

We are aware now that Luick's chronology for the Sc and NoE development of $\bar{a}$ (: $\tilde{e}$ 1550, *eə* before 1600) must be essentially modified. If the final stage /*iə*/ was reached in 1530, the preceding stage /*eə*/, the result of the 'Abstumpfung', obviously falls within the 15th c. We have no spellings illustrative of this pronunciation, but if we are right in supposing that the pron. / $\tilde{e}$ / was reached in the 14th c., it follows that the 'Abstumpfung' to /*eə*/ and the transition of this sound to /*iə*/ or even to / $\dot{z}e$, *je*/ were carried out within the period lying between the latter half of the 14th c. and 1530, a period which indeed does not seem too long for such rad-

¹⁾ Luick (§ 236) quotes the transcription *yearwhayle* (= / $\dot{z}\tilde{e}r$ /) for the Sc pron. of *erewhile*, occurring in Greene's drama *James IV*, which was written before 1692 and printed in 1598. But this form can scarcely be genuine, since / $\tilde{e}$ / developed into [*i*] in Sc. Like so many other pretended dialect forms given by amateurs in dialectal speech, it appears to be a free invention on the pattern of NoE (not Sc) forms beginning in /*jē*-/ as against StE / $\tilde{e}$ /.

ical changes. I fail to see any probability that eME *ā* would be kept intact throughout the whole of the ME period and then, in less than a century, pass through the series /*ē* > *eə* > *iə* (*je*)/.

OE *a* before lengthening consonant-combinations.

1. *a* / *ld*.

DAR:

le faldyng yatt 'folding-gates' 1507—8, 659, OAngl *faldan*, nDur [*fad*, *fauld*, *fould*], sDur [*fəld*].

pinfold 1591, 734; 1592, 735; *pinfold* 1592, 734; *pin-foulde* 1596, 739; *pynfowld* ab. 1597, 731 'a pinfold, pound' (OE *fald*).

FP:

Aldeorchard 1489—90 (OAngl *ald*), nDur [*ād*, *ōd*], sDur [*əd*].

poundfald 1489—90 (*pund* + *fald*).

CoAcc:

in clavis quæ vocantur afaudthnayl 1371; *afaudthaknayl* 1373; *M de afaudthacnalle* 1374; *ij^m de afauldtac* 1374; *clavis de dubilfauldtac* ib. EDD: *Aefald*, also *afald* 'simple' . . . NED, s. v. *Afald*: 1 *ánfeald*, 1—3 *anfald*, 4—6 *afald*(*e* . . . 6 *afauld*, *efald*, 7 *effa(u)ld*, 8 — *aefauld*; all northern after 2; 'single' . . .

Alcambous 1364, xlii; *Aldcambous* 1365, xlv; *Oldcambus* 1366, li; *Aldcambus* 1368, liv (4); *Aldcambous* 1365, lv; *Aulcambous* 1368, lvi; *Aldcambous* 1369, lviii; 1370, lx. 1st member of this place-name is OAngl *ald* 'old'. 2nd member seems to be composed of *camb* + *hūs*, i. e. 'a house situated on the top of a hill'.

CoP:

alde 'old' 1429, 104; *Alcambus*, *Aldcambus* 1441—2, 127; *the olde dett* 1463, 191; *of old tyme* 1474, 231.

hald 'to hold' 1414, 86 etc.; *hald*, *halden* 1440, 116; *haldyn* 1442, 134. nDur [*ad*, *ād*, *had*, *hauld*, *ould*], sDur [*od*].

Caldestrem pl. n., p. cxiv (in a roll written in a hand of the early part of Edward I (1272—1307), p. cviii, footnote), now Coldstream. nDur [kād, kauld, kould] 'cold'.

For the present we shall only note that an /u/ was developed before *ld* so as to form a diphthong /au/ which then had the same development as /au/ from other sources. As to the *o*-forms, see the following chapter.

2. *a* / *mb*.

DAssR: *ad Capellam de Cambhus* 1242, 72 (see above).

DAR:

ij horskames 1397, 136; *1 horskambe* 1404, 397; *1 horskam* 1484—5, 415; *horsse coumes* 1510—11, 661; OE *camb*, nDur [kjem, kōm], sDur [kēm].

irislams 1375—6, 582; *lamcote*, *lambecote*, *Lammedowe* 'Lamb-Meadow' 1459—60, 320; OE *lamb*, Dur [lam].

Wambetowes 1337—8, 32, 1340, 37; *Wambtowes* 134 . ., 38, c. 1343 (?), 543; *Wametowshafes* 1536—7, 697 'bellybands'; OE *wamb*.

FP:

Rob. de Cambus 136 . ., 164 (see *Aldcambus* above).

ij wametowes 1411.

CoP and *CoAcc*: see *Alcambous* above.

HoB:

waymetow 20; *wametowshafes*, *waymetowshafes* 67.

In EDG § 34 we read the following remark about this group: 'In the dialects of Sc. Ant. nNhb., the vowel in OE *camb* comb, *wamb* womb, has had the same development as old *a* in open syllables. The vowel in *lamb* has gen. had the normal development of old *a* in closed syllables . . .'. Our spellings exhibit a good illustration of this development: *-kames* 1397, *wame* 1411 etc., *wayme* 1530 — *-lams* 1375, *lam* 1459. The sDur [kēm] is irregular: we should expect [kiəm] (see p. 15). Final *b* was suppressed in both types from the 14th c., but remained initially before a vowel, as is

seen in all the forms of *Aldcambous* (see Jespersen, MEG I 7.51 ff.). The short vowel in *lamb* is difficult to explain (see Jespersen, o. c. 4.222), but the word formed a number of compounds in which the short vowel was regular (*lambcote*, *lambskin*, etc., note also the derivative *lambkin*), and an influence from these words on the simple form is not improbable. — The spelling *horskam* 1484 no doubt implies shortening of the vowel under weak stress, but this special pron. has not prevailed over the normal one.

3. *a* / *nd*, *ng*.

There are no traces of lengthening of *a* before *nd* in the modern dial., thus: Dur [*land*], nDur [*and*, *han*(*d*)], sDur [*han*] 'hand', etc. In our texts the combination is invariably spelt *and*, with one exception: *layndmayle* DAR 1429, 69 'a rent charged on land', where the *ay* is no doubt due to the scribe's having anticipated the regular *ay* in *-mayle*. We infer from this that the old length of *a* before *nd* was reduced at an early date in this dialect.¹⁾

The genuine instances of /*ay*/ are always written *ang*: — DAR: *langcart* (2) c. 1343?, 543, *langrape* 1457, 635; 20 *gang* 1389—90, 596 'a set'; 5 *gang de tymbyr* 1404, 398; *tangys* 'tongs' 1412—3, 610; *Armestrange* pers. n. 1534—5, 111, 1536—7, 702 — FR: 1 *pare de l'tangez* 1432; 1 *tanges* 1480 — WCorr: *wrangz* sb., *lang* c. 1447, 241 (but 1 *long Roppe* DAR 1513—4, 663, a StE form). The mod. pronunciations given by Wright are: Dur [*lay*, *stray*, *ray*], nDur [*tjenz*], sDur [*tenz*]. The last two forms presuppose older *ā*; the sDur one is irregular in that the vowel has suffered no 'Abstumpfung', just as was the case with sDur [*kēm*] 'comb' above. It seems probable that the other words too had long

¹⁾ The investigations of Eilers (pp. 15, 46, 52, 191) point in the same direction: the Surt. Psalter and Pricke of Consc. have short *a* in the combination *and*, but the early MS C. of Curs. M. has a few *aand*-spellings, no doubt denoting length.

vowel in late OE times, although this was subsequently shortened through levellings of various kinds. Cf. Jespersen MEG I, 4.221 f.; Eilers, pp. 194, 207.

II.

Dialectal forms with $\bar{a}$ (: OE $\bar{a}$) replaced by StE $\bar{o}$ -forms.

In collecting the material belonging to this section I have aimed at giving examples sufficiently numerous to illustrate directly the proportion between the genuine dialectal and the adopted forms.

DAR:

Matild' de Amotbrigs 1376, 336. *Amot* is from OScn *á* 'a stream, river' (= OE *éa*) and OScn *mót* (= OE *mót*) 'a meeting, junction'. Cf. *Ámot* in the Swed. provinces of Värmland and Gästrikland, both places being situated at the junction of two streams.

a ferybott 1508, 660; *on yern shoull* 1541, 742; *on* 1541, 720, 721 etc.

R. Crokebane pers. n. 1420, 350 (Bardsley gives this name from Yo.: *Crokebayn*, *Crukebayn*, *Crukeban'* 1379).

le borehede 1525, 108; 1534, 112 'boar's head' (< OE *bár*)

le Stanbate 1336, 533; *Fisshebate* 1347, 546; *le Ferybote* 1434, 645; *ferybott* 1508, 660; *botstede* 1508, 290; *lez boytstede* 1511, 292; *ferybott* 1536, 702 (< OE *bát*).

cheseclathe 1330, 518; *Saylclathis* 1351, 553; *sekkclath* 1373, 578; *clathsec* 1375, 582; 3 *clathis* 1404, 396; 1 *burdclath* 398 (the same entry); *bordcloths* 1412, 610; *le Seridclath* (2) 1438, 408—9; *lez cuppbordclothes* c. 1452, 147; *j windowclathe* 'a winnowing-cloth, a cloth spread upon the ground during the process of winnowing' 1454, 150; *newe sayl clas* 1455,

191; *Flemyshclathe*, *Holandclathe*, *burdeclathe* 1457, 635. *Straynyo'clath* c. 1460, 90; *ij clopis to lay under þ^e sadlys* 1472, 245; *2 bult clothes* 1478, 647; *j Bultclothe* 1480, 96 (the same entry has *stanebarowes*, *stanebrod*, *morterstanez*); *Flemyscloth* 1482, 648; *sekclath* 1484, 415; *6 bultclothes* 1484, 649; *Holandcloth* 1485, 157; *Flemyscloth* 1486, 650; *14 freyn-3es clothez* 1505, 102 (*staynbroddes* *ibid.*); *14 streynyowrcloþs* 1507, 104; *1 motoncloth*, *bredcloth* 1507, 659; *Clothman* 1515, 664.

j flayngknyfe 1459, 89; *ij flayngknyfes* 1480, 97; *2 flayngknyffes* 1490, 100; *3 le flayngknyff* 1516, 106 (OScn *flá*, ME *flān*, *flē* 'to flay', Björkman p. 102).

1 grape, *2 grapys* 1404, 397, 399; *j Grape* 1459, 89. NED s. v. *Graip* derives this Sc and north. dial. word from OScn *greip* 'grip, grasp', compared with OSw *griep* etc. 'fork'; but the regular spelling with *a* (see p. 4) makes us suspect that it may go back to OE *gráp* 'grasp'. If so, the OE word has had the same sense-development as the Scn.

j^e last & holl paym't 1545, 727 'whole' (< OE *hál*).

Haly Eland 1465, 412 'Holy Island'.

una lada ferri mollis c. 1365, 568; *3 ladys* 1384, 390; *ladesadiltrees* 1418, 615; *72 lades*, *3 lades* 1428, 229; *3 ladz calcis* 1439, 274; *6 laad*, *2 laad* 1447, 237; *iiij laad calcis* 1447, 275; *courtladez* 1454, 634; 1456, 635; *1 loyde calcis* 1541, 743 (OE *lād* 'a course, way', as to sense-development, see EtD.).

in uno laf 1363, 566; *2 lafes de Sugour* 1373, 587; *Sugyr-laffe* 1422, 59; *Sugerlafe* 1430, 61; *layf de zuggir*, *laff de Sogyr* 1440, 78 'loaf' (< OE *hláf*).

In 4 ulnis de fotmale empt. 1348, 549. Gl.: 'here some textile'. NED s. v. *Fotmal* gives only the sense 'a weight used for lead' and takes it to be a use of OE *fótmæl*, foot-measure. Now we cannot expect OAngl. *ē* to be represented by *a* in our dial., and we are therefore led to assume Scn

origin, the more so as we find *-mal* in another name of a textile of distinctive Scn origin, viz.:

pannus de wadmale 1404, 395 (< OWScn *váðmál* = *váðmál* 'measured stuff', 'standard cloth' from *váð* 'stuff, cloth', and *mál* 'a measure', Cleasby-Vigfusson).

This *mal* enters moreover into:

Landmall (2) 1351, 120; *landmale* 1381—1537 passim; *layndmayle* 1429, 60, 'a rent charged on land'; *medowmale* 1401, 393. This *male*, *mayle* is necessarily an adoption from Scn. NED quotes *malys* 'meals' Barb. and Sc. *maill*.

J. Pacok pers. n. 1424, 367; 1425, 370 (< OE *pāwa*).
d'no n'o pape 1414, 611 and earlier; *tūc Pope* 1554, 730.

C. Pappe pers. name 1536, 696; *Rad'i Pape* *ibid.*; *Cuthōt Paype* 1545, 727.

Raby place-name 1350, 552 etc., for half a century; *Rabi* 1376, 585. 1st member is OWScn *rá* 'a landmark' (< **raino*, perhaps allied to OE *rāw*, *rāw* 'a row, line'); 2nd member is from Scn *býr* (*bær*) Lindkvist p. 188.

Ranettes 1354, 555; *Ranet* 1378, 588; *Raanet* 1383, 593 (< OE *rá* 'a roe').

Carterapis c. 1320, 514; *waynrape* 1388, 391; *cartrapes* 1396, 600; *-rapis*, *waynrapp* 1399, 601; *wayn rapis* 1404, 398; 2 *drawtrapys* c. 1420, 617; *drawghrape*, *smalrape* 1447, 87; 1 *cabillraype* 1448, 473; *langrape* 1457, 635; 14 *Rapys* 1469, 93; *capillrapes* 1484, 649; 1 *futroppe*, 2 *ropes* 1507, 659; 1 *long Roppe* 1513, 663; *waynoppes* 697, *cartropes* 697, *roppes* 699, 1536; *roppe* 1541, 720.

the Roper, name denoting occupation, 1593, 735 etc.

Raper pers. n. (10) 1392—1453.

Stiraps, *stirhaphthirs* 1394, 599; *stirapis* c. 1410, 403; *Sty-roppys* 1431, 231; *steropleders* 1486, 194; *steroplethers* 1486, 417; *Steropleders* 1494, 194; *steropes* 1498, 195; *stiroplethers* 1504, 195; *stirropis*, *stirroplethirris* 1509, 661; *stirropes* 1513, 663; *cum strepis* 1515, 253; *stirroplethers* 1536, 697 (< OE *stīg-ráp*, *stīg-ráp*).

Ratonraw 1352, 208; *Ratonrowe* 1392, 135; *Ratonrawe* 1430, 467; 1513, 481; *Ratonraw* 1444, 472; 1528, 163; *Ratton Rawe* 1522, 254. From *ratton*, *rottan*, *rotten* (F *raton*) 'a rat' and *row*, OE *rāw* 'a line'. See Gloss. and cf. the old street-names *Norra*, *Södra Rättsträtet* in Lund.

uno sae 1377, 387; *i saa* 1383, 593; *i sa* 1387, 134; 1404, 397; *i saa* 1459, 152; *j saae* 1472, 247; *saex, sae* 1480, 97; *i watersay* 1487, 651. Björkman p. 109: 'ME *sā*, NE dial. *soa*, *soe* 'a bucket, pail' is from OE *sā* 'a bucket' and not from OWScn *sár* 'a large cask', OSwed. *sā* etc. (< **saiha*).¹⁾

Kydsape 1377, 587; *soppe and threde* 1541, 720 (< OE *sápe*).

Ric's Luttscales 1392, 343; *Ț. Huscales, R. Huscales, Ț. Lynttscales* (2), *R. Lynttscales* (2) — c. 1420, 356—7.

Ț. Skalyng, Schaylyng 1392, 350; *Ț. Scalylng* 1425, 370.²⁾

2 spakes 1334, 525; *ij gang del spekys* 1454, 150 'a bar of a wheel, (< OE *spáca*).

le stanbate 1336, 533; *stanlattes* 1357, 560; *fatstanes* 1377, 587; *stanbrodys, gryndistan, sclatstanys, gryndystan, gryndstan, sclatstonys* 1404, 395—8; *i staynax* 1427, 709;

¹⁾ B. then continues: 'At any rate there is no phonetic criterion of loan, as Teut. *ai* became *ū* before *h* both in Scn and Engl.' — The local distribution of this dial. word — according to the EDD found in NCy, Nhb., Stf. Lin., Bdf., e.Angl.: *soa* [*sō*], in Sc., Nhb., Dur.: *say* [*sē*] — evidently points to a Scn origin. The Lin. variant *sor*, directly corresponding to the Scn nom. *sár*, is especially conclusive on this point. NED s. v. *Soe* assumes a Scn derivation. — It means (1) 'a large tub, generally with two ears' (2) 'a bucket, milk-pail'.

²⁾ *Scale* is from OWScn *skáli* 'a hut, shed, put up for temporary use, sometimes at a considerable distance from the farm', NED s. v. *Scale* sb.⁴, Lindkvist p. 189 ff. *Scalylng* denotes (1) 'a piece of pasture to which cattle may be driven for grazing' (2) 'a hut of rough construction erected on or near such a piece of pasture' (= *Scale*), NED s. v. *Shieling*. — It is a secondary formation on the preceding word. Whether it is of Scn or English origin I cannot determine. The NED gives the latinized form *scalinga* from 1225 in *Registr. monast. Passelet* and c. 1230—68 in *Cockers. Chartul.* — For further details on these words and their cognates, see *shelc* under *e*.

23 *stone of iron* c. 1440, 143; *j stane barowe, 1 capstane* 1454, 149—50; *tabilstonys, capestonys* c. 1467, 641—2; *Troughstane* 1470, 643; *baststonys* 1478, 647; *flaxstons* 'flag-stones' 1480, 648; *stanebarowes, stanbrod, morterstanez* 1480, 96—7 (the same: *j Bultclothe*); *thykston* 1486, 158; *1 lavatory stone* 1487, 651; *tabilstonez* 1494, 653; *lez thillstone, 70 Tyldestone* 1500, 657; *staynbroddes* 1505, 103; *tapstone, tapston* (2) 1517, 294; *Grynstones* 1536, 668; *one stoone of (tallowe)* 1592, 734, 735.

In place-names: *Stanford* 1278, 484; *Staunford* 1299, 497; 1324, 166; 1351, 205; 1355, 122; 1367, 209; *Stanford* 1416, 140; *Staunford* 1336, 532; *Stamford* 1415, 611; 1480, 478; — *Stannopp* 1318, 372; *Stanehoppe* 1536, 674 (usually *Stanhope*); — *Stayndropp* 1439, 409; *Stanedropp* 1500, 657; *Stanedroppe, Stanedropshyre* 1536, 679; — *Staynton* 1472, 413; *Nunstaynton* 1536, 689.

Strabrod 1335, 529. Gl.: 'the wooden pins or stabs used in fastening thatch to the roof of a building'. (< OWScn *strá* = OE *stréaw, stréa*; Björkman p. 103, with references).

in reparacione 1 strakis, 35 strakenayll 1334, 526; *In 4^{xx}10 de strakenayll* 1335, 527; *Cartstrakes* 1412, 609. EDD: *Strake* (*Stroke*) 'a section or strip of the iron tire or rim of a cart-wheel'.

Th. Ta 1420, 357; *Th. Taa* 1424, 364, 366 pers. n. (< OE *tá* 'a toe'). As to the application, cf. *ƿ. Legg* 1392, 355.

towe cuppes 1544, 725; *tow spalters* 1568, 717 'psalters'; *too new locks* 1593, 737.

j wadlede 1485, 157 'a woad-tank' (< OE *wád, Isatis tinctoria*).

FP:

j wyndenclathe 1354 'a winnowing-cloth'; *ij bulteclathe* 1360; *j wyndeowclath* 1397; *ij windowclathis* 1411; *ij bultingclaythis* 1411; *bulteclothez* 1479—80; *bultclothez* 1480—1; 1486—7; *bultclaythis* 1487—8; *bowtclothez* 1495—6.

j crauw 1360; *j crow* 1411 'a crow-bar' (< OE *cráwe*).

j flayngknyffe 1495—6; *flayngknyffs* 1525—6; *-ffis* 1528—9
pro ladis 1354; *laidisadies* 1457—8.

Laverddescrofte c. 1259, 114 (OE *hláf-weard > hláf-ford).
le landmale 1469—70; *landmaile* 1488—9; *landmaylle*
 1510—11.

waynrapis 1465; *waynrape3*, *j clokrape*, *steropleders* 1495
 —6; *waynroppes* 1510—11; *stirropyrons* 1528—9.

j sa, *ijj says* 1397; *ij saas* 1411; *ijj says* 1465.

ij gang de spaks 1397 'spokes'.

stanbrods 1364; *ij stanehamers* 1411; *ij gryndston3* 1465;
trowstan 1488—9.

strabrodd 1372—3.

Proper names:

Haliheland 1364—5; *J. Pacok* 1438—9; *Staunforth* 1333;
Staynford (2), *Staunford* 1364; *Stamfford* 1398—9; *Stamford*
 1479—80.

Co P:

dettes therof aught (pa. ptc. of OE *ágan*, prt. *áhte*)
 1414, 86.

a thousand four hundreth fourty and an 1441, 120;
oon 1449, 164; *on* 1449, 164 (another document).

on the to part (— *on the tothir part*) 1429, 104; *on the*
ta party 1441, 120; 1449, 164; *on that on party* (— *on that*
other party) 1471, 221.

oon is to haff 1441, 119; *in ane (lettre)*, 1442, 132; *for*
thai twa war bath an 1442, 136; *in oon obligacion* 1447,
 160; *in oon indentur* 1449, 104; *by oon Scottesman* *ibid.*

only 1474, 231.

or 'ere' 1442, 132; 1447, 160 (< OWScn *ár* positive:
 'soon, early').

awen 'own' 1441, 117; 1441, 120; 122; 123; 1444, 154;
awn 1442, 136.

bare 'boar' 1374 (*Acc. Rolls*).

vynduclath 1374; *alterclays* (2); *ij bowtyngclays*, *bordclays*
 (2), *bordclaythis* (2), *vyndowclaytis* 1446 (*Acc. Rolls*).

both (— *and*) 1414, 86; *bath* (— *and*) (2) 1441, 118; *both the marche3* *ibid.*; *bath for the goode of bath the reaume3* *and* . . . *ibid.*; *both — and* 1441, 119 (2); 1441, 122; 1441, 123; 1446, 157 (2); *bath (the partie3)* 1441, 121; 1442, 136.

fra 1429, 104; *fro* 1441, 121; 122; 123; 1442, 132; 1446, 158 (2). (< OWScn *frá*, Björkman p. 101).

of time begane 'bygone' 1414, 86; *no3t gan lang sen* 1442, 132 (< OE *-ġán*); *goo* 1447, 160 (< OE *ġán*); *now late agoo* *ibid.* (< OE *āġán*).

no swyne nor gayte 1429, 104. *gayte* prob. < OE *ġát*, but it might be from OWScn *geit* as well¹⁾. See Björkman p. 42.

brotherhed 1441, 116 (< OE *hād*).

the haly trinite 1441, 119; *oure haly patron* 1441, 122; 124; *haly keepyng* 1441, 122; *haly keepynge* 1441, 124; *holy fadir* 1444, 153; *our most haly fader the Pope* 1471, 221; *Haly Gost* 1474, 231 (< OE *hāliġ*); (< OE *ġást*).

the hale place 1442, 127; *oon hale yhere* 1449, 165 (< OE *hál*).

knawen 'known' pa. ptc. 1414, 86; *knaue3* 3rd p. sg. 1441, 121; *knawand* 1441, 124; *knalege* 1442, 127; *knalegyng* sb. 1442, 132; *unknawyn* 1446, 157; *knowe3* 3 sg. *ibid.* 158; *knowledge* 1451, 170; *knaue* 1 sg. 1456, 182; *knauweth* 3 sg. 1456, 183.

liveledd 1438, 110; *lyveloode* 1441, 121; 122; *livelooode* 1441, 122; *lyfelode* 1461, 188 (ME *livelode* 'life-leading', from OE *líf* + *lād* 'a leading, course, lode'. Afterwards corrupted into *livelihood* on the analogy of words such as *brotherhood*).

lone 'loan' 1463, 191. ME *lōn* < OWScn *lān*).

lord, *lordeship* 1414, 86.

has to ferme latyn 1429, 104; *latte to ferme* inf. 1441, 120; *has lattyn me weete* 1441, 121; *lattand yowe weite* 1442,

¹⁾ The unchanged plural is no doubt formed on the plurals of strong neuters, such as *swyn(e)*, *hors*, etc. See Ekwall, The Unchanged Plural in English, p. 81 f.

132; *latyng you witt* 1461, 187. These forms are from Scn *lāta*. Björkman, p. 91, remarks on this word: 'It is uncertain whether *a* had been already shortened in Scn when the word was introduced into Engl. or whether the shortening took place on Engl. ground'. Cf. OSwed. *lāta*. In all our instances short vowel is to be assumed. — In alternation with the *a*-forms, there are also forms in *e*: *lettand yowe* [*weete*] *thatt* 1441, 119; *I lett* (pres.) *you witt*; *letyng you witt* 1462, 190 representing early shortenings of OAngl. *létan* or else directly borrowed from the literary English.

the sayd male to be payde 'measure' 1429, 104. See above p. 21.

the mast avayle 1440, 116; *mare* 1441, 117, 118, 119; (for) *evermoore* 1441, 120; 122; 124 (another document); *the moste profett* 1441, 120; *evermore* 1441, 121; *mast worthy* 1441, 122; *evermoor* 1441, 123; 1442, 127; *mast knalege* 1442, 127; *most profitable* *ibid.*; *na mar* 1442, 137; *moore playnly* 1444, 153; *moste* *ibid.*; 1446, 157 (2); *moor over* 1446, 158; 1449, 165.

nane of . . .; *no swyne* 1429, 104; *noone office* 1440, 114; *no lange yhere3* *ibid.*; *na monke* 1441, 117; *nane of* . . . 1441, 118; *no lande3 no tenement3* 1441, 120; *na conande ne pacte* [read: *covande*] 1441, 113; *no prejudice* 1442, 127; *no word* 1442, 132; *na stewarshipp* *ibid.*; *culd no way goo* 1447, 160.

the pape Gregory 1441, 117; *the Pape3 lawes* 1442, 138; *our holy fadir the Pope* 1444, 153; *our haly fader the Pope* 1471, 221.

saule 1440, 114; *sawle3* 1456, 182 'soul' (< OE *sáwel*, *sáwl*).

sary 'sorry' 1441, 122 (< OE *sárig*).

Also 1429, 104; *alswa* 1441, 116; *sa* 1441, 117, 118; *alsa* 1441, 117; *also* 1441, 120; 1441, 122; 123; 1446, 158; *so* 1441, 124; *soo* 1442, 137.

twa 1429, 104; 1442, 136 (2); 1449, 165; 1463, 191 'two'.

whoos 1440, 114; *wham* 1441, 117 (*whom* *ibid.*); 1441,

123; *who, whose, by whom, to whom* 1444, 153; *whome, who* 1446, 157—8; *whoos* 1556, 182.

wrate 'wrote' I sg. 1441, 117; 1441, 119; 122; *wratt* 1441, 124 (*wrate* *ibid.*); *thay wratte* 1442, 127; *yhe wratte* (2) 1442, 132.

HoB (1530—34):

Et soluti 7 gayne messorum 76, etc., see p. 15. .

le ferybott 86, 87.

brode 'broad' 1; in place-names: *Braydforth* 48; *Braydshave* 31.

boulclothe 11, *sakclothe* 57, *sadykloth* 60; *cupbordclothes* 69; *cheysclothe* 3, *dreysseurclothe*, *cupbordcloth*, *cupbordcloth* 254.

le gaytskins 138.

small hayll cyscayttis 'whole' 230.

1 haynestone 229 (< OE *han* 'a stone').

Ladesadills 18; 20 *leyde*, *le leyde*, 3 *loadies*. In every *lede* 47; *y^e ledds* (2) 88; *1 leyde prayse* 'a load of pens' 120.

1 leff sugarii, *1 suger leff* *1 leff suger* 43; *1 leff*, *2 leffs suger* 316.

landmale 23; 24; *landmayle* 24.

nothyng 88.

1 pacock (2) 325; as a pers. n.: *J. Pacock* 105. (See above *DAK*: *Pacock* is still a surname).

4 roys 'roes' 142.

Raoy, *Rayoy*, *Rayoye* pl. n. 190, 245, 280, see above p. 21.

6 royes, *6 ropes*, *cartroppes* (3) (2) 19; *waynroppes* (23) 66; *Empcio reparum de ferybott* 87; *styrropyrons* 1 etc.

sope 'soap' 62.

60 stone of uyre, *y^e sten* 47; in place-names: *R. Stayndforth*, *Staynfurth* 37.

Examples of other proper names: *J. Bayzman* 253, *W. Batmanson* 259; *W. Raper*, *Rayper* 1; *J. Snaiball* 140. (Bardsley has *Bat(e)man(son)* and thinks *-man* = *-mond*, *-mund*.)

but cf. his *Boatman*, which in its turn is to be compared with *Bargeman*).

For some instances of OE *a* before lengthening consonant-combinations see p. 16. — From *JR* I quote only the early *o*-form *crowe* 'crow-bar' 1370.

In order to obtain a clearer view of the state of things it will be convenient to sum up the material of each text in two lists, one comprising the words with an *o*-vowel instead of the original *a*, with the date of the first appearance of the word in question, the other containing words never found with *o*, with the date of the last occurrence of each word. In list (1) the examples are arranged chronologically.

DAR:

(1) *Ratonrowe* 1392, *sclatstonys* 1404, *bordcloths* 1412, *styroppys* 1431, *Ferybote* 1474, *futroppe*, *ropes* 1507, *counes* 1510, *borehede* 1525, *loyde* 1541, *on* 1541, *soppe* 1541, *towe* 1544, *holl* 'whole' 1545, *the Popc* 1554, *pindfold* 1591, *the Roper* 1593.

(2) *flayngknyff* 1516, *Grape* 1459, *laff*, *layf* 1440, (-)male 'measure' 1537, *Ra(a)* 'a roe' 1383, *say* 1487, *spekys* 'spokes' 1454, *strabrod* 1335, *strakes* 1412, *wadlede* 1485, and the proper names *Amot* 1376, *Haly Eland* 1465, *Raby* c. 1440, *-scales* 1420, *Scalyng* 1425; *-stan*-, *-stayn*- 1536, *Crokebane* 1420, *Pacok* 1425, *Pap(p)e*, *Paype* 1536—45, *Raper* 1453, *Ta* 1424.

FP:

(1) *gryndston3* 1465, *bulteclothe3* 1479, *steropleders* 1495, *waynroppes* 1510.

(2) *craw* 1411, *flayngknyffis* 1528, *laidsadils* 1457, *landmaylle* 1510, *says* 1465, *spaks* 1397, *strabrodd* 1372, proper names as *Haliheland* 1364, *Pacock* 1438, *Stamford* etc.

JR: (1) *crowe* 1370.

CoP:

(1) *both* (—*and*), *lord(eship)* 1414; *the to*, *no*, *also*, *fro* 1429; *noone*, *who*, *whoos* 1440; *oon (on)* (numeral), *lyveloode*,

evermoore, *moste*, *so*, *whom* 1441; *or* 1442; *holy*, *moor*, *pope* 1444; *knowe3* 1446; *oon* (article), *goo*, *agoo* 1447; *lone* 1463, *only*, *Gost* 1474.

(2) *aught* pa. ptc. 1414, *awen* 1444, *bare* 'boar' 1374, *-claytis* 1446, *begane* 1414, *gan* pa. ptc. 1442, *gayte* 1429, *brotherhed* 1441, *hale* 'whole' 1449, *latyng* pr. ptc. 1461, *male* 'measure' 1429, *sawle3* 1456, *sary* 1441, *twa* 1463, *wrate*, *wratt(e)* 1441—2.

HoB:

(1) *ferybott*, *brode* 'broad', *clothe3* (only with *o*-vowel), *loyde*, *loddess* (*Ladesadills* once!), *loff* (no *a* form), *nothyng*e, *ropes*, *roype3*, *styrropyrons* (only with *o*-vowel), *roys* 'roes', *sope*, *stone of uyre* (only with *o*-vowel).

(2) *yayne* ~ *yanes*; *gaytskyns*, *hayll* 'whole', *haynestone*, *-male*, *pacock*; proper names as *Braydfurth*, *Braydshaw*, *Raby* ~ *Raybye*, *Stayndforth* ~ *Staynfurth*; *Baytman*, *Batmanson*, *Pacock*, *Rayper*, *Snawball*.

A general summary of all *o*-words from the different texts taken together will look like this:

Oldcambus 1366, *crowe* 1370, *Ratonrowe* 1392, *sclatstonys* 1404, *-cloths* 1412, *both* 1414, *lord* (*lordeship*) 1414, *the to*, *no*, *also*, *fro* 1429, *styroppys* 1431, *noone*, *who*, *whoos* 1440, (*oon*), *lyveloode*, *evermoore*, *moste*, *so*, *whom* 1441, *or* 1442, *holy*, *moor*, *pope* 1444, *knowe3* 1446, (*oon* art.) *goo*, *agoo* 1447, *lone* 1463, *-bote*, *only*, *Gost* 1474, *-roppe*, *ropes* 1507, *coumes* 1510, *borchede* 1525, *brode*, *loyde*, *loff*, *nothyng*e, *roys*, *sope* 1530—4, *towe* 1544, *holl* 1545, *pindfold* 1591, *the Roper* 1593.

A summary of the *a*-lists will comprise the following words:

yayne 1530—4, *aught* 1414, *awen* 1444, *flayngknyffis* 1528, *gaytskyns* 1530—4, *grape* 1459, *haynestone* 1530—4, *latyng* 1461, *-male* 1537, *pacock* (appell.) 1530—4, *say* 1487, *sary* 1441, *sawle3* 1456, *spekys* 1454, *strabrodd* 1372, *strakes* 1412, *waymetow* 1530, *wadlede* 1485, *wratte*, *wrate* 1441—2

and all the proper names recorded with the exception of the single instance *Ratonrowe* 1392.

Thus out of 64 words — real proper nouns not counted — no less than 45 are recorded with StE forms. The adopted forms begin to appear quite sporadically in the latter half of the 14th century and steadily increase in number during the 15th. Still there is a considerable number of words — 19 — that always exhibit vernacular forms, even when they belong to the last portion of the period examined.

This latter group naturally comprises proper nouns and distinctly popular words, esp. such as denote household or agricultural implements. This being so, the early spelling *crowe*, 'crow-bar', 1370, is surprising, and I feel tempted to doubt its reliability. On the other hand, the *o*-forms of the adjective *old* and the appellative *rowe* in the place-name compounds from 1366 and 1392 are certainly genuine.

The words introduced are of course such as are likely to appear in the language of the educated classes: the numerous StE forms of grammatical words (pronouns, adverbs, and numerals) should be especially noted. Further we find representatives of the religious vocabulary: *lord*, *holy*, *pope*, *ghost*, and *lordship*, the title.

We must not, however, let the word-lists disguise the real state of things. The majority of the words represented by *o*-forms appear with these forms sporadically, even in the language of highly educated people such as the Durham priors (see *CoP*), some of the StE forms are distinctly rare as compared with the dialectal (*holy*, *know CoP*), and only a limited number can be said to have superseded the dialect forms: *lord*, *lordship*, *pope*, *old CoP*; *boat*, *ferryboat*, *clothes*, *load*, *loaf*, *nothing*, *rope*, *stirrup*, *stone HoB*; *pinfold DAR*. Note the characterization of the form *ferybott* in *DAR* 1508—9, 660: *Et sol. in di. precio unius cimbe vulgo a ferybott . . .*

We shall now proceed to an examination of the modern dialect, and I hope it will be worth while to give a fairly complete list of the words with OE *ā*. In addition to the comparative material required for a satisfactory treatment of the present problem, the list will supply some details on the genuine development of this vowel which could not be conveniently attended to in the preceding chapter. The list is a compilation from Wright, whose arrangement §§ 120 ff. I have adopted. The words *aught*, *nought* will be excluded, however, for we see from Sievers § 344, Anm. 3, § 348, Anm. 2, that the regular late ONhbn forms were *ôht*, *nôwîht* (*nôht*). Accordingly, the *CoP* spellings are genuine dialectal: *noght*, *nott* 'not' 1440, 116; 1441, 119; *noght* (2) 1441, 123; *nott* 1441, 118; 1441, 124; *noȝt* 1442, 132; *nott* 1446, 157. Likewise, *outlier*, *nouther* may go back to OE *ôwðer*, *nôwðer*, (see Sievers § 346, § 348) and had better be left out. — Some supplementary matter from Ellis's word-lists will also be included. As a rule, it will suffice to give the vocalism only.

The lists do not cover each other exactly. Our authorities afford no information about the present pronunciation of the following words:

(1) *crowe* sb., *-rowe*, (*no*), *also*, *fro*, *whoos*, *whom*, *evermoore*, or 'ere', *holy*, *pope*, *agoo*, *lone* 'loan', *rope*, *roper*, *roe* (*roys*);

(2) dial. *flayng-*, *haynestone*, dial. *latyng*, dial. *-male* 'measure', dial. *pacock*, *sary*, *spekys* 'spokes', dial. *stra-* 'straw', *strakes* 'strokes of a wheel', *wad-* 'woad-'. We may well venture the supposition that of the words still in use those under (1) have now *o*-forms, and those under (2) dialectal forms (except perhaps *sary*). The EDD would no doubt give some information on this point.

On the other hand, the modern list has much material which we have not found in our texts, but as a matter of fact these inconsistencies are not so important as to disturb our calculations essentially.

	nDur	sDur	Dur		nDur	sDur	Dur
alone	alian	—		41 saw pret.	ā	—	
boat	ōa	wōa		42 slow	+ ou	+ ō	ā
bone	+ je	—	ia	43 snow	Ellis: ā, ou	—	ā, ō
both	ie, je, ea	ia, ie		44 sow v.	Ellis: ā, ou	ō	
broad	ē	ia		45 throw	ā	ō	
clothes	klēz, klōz	klīaz		46 soul	—	—	ou
drove sb.	ō	—		47 ought	—	—	ou
foam	ōa	—		48 low	ā	ō	
ghost	je, ō	ō		49 own adj.	ā, ou	—	
goat	ōa	ia		50 ask	aks	as	
groan	oa	ō		51 cloth	o, ē	—	
load	—	ia		52 gone	+ o, je, ia	—	ia
loaf	ō	ia		53 none	je	ia	
moan	ō	—		54 nothing	noþin	—	
most	—	ia		55 holiday	—	alida	
road	—	—	oa, ō	56 hot	—	—	et
soap	je, ō	—		57 once	je	—	
stone	je	ia		58 one	jen; Ellis	won	
stroke	—	+ ia	ō		+ won	—	
toad	je	ia		59 drove v.	ō, u	—	
oak	—	—	ja, je	60 rode	—	ia	
oar	oa(r)	—		61 wrote	—	ia	
oath	ō	ō		62 bold	baud, bauld,	boud	
oats	—	—	je		bould	—	
only	ōni	—		63 cold	kauld, kād,	—	
home	hje, je	ia			kould	—	
whole	Ellis: ō	ia		64 fold	fad, fauld	fēd	
toe	—	ia			fould	—	
so	+ sō	—	sī; si, sō	65 old	ād, ōd	ēd, ōd	
wo	—	+ twia	tū, twī	66 hold	ad, ād, had,	od	
who	Ellis: + wō	+ wia	wī		hauld, ould	—	
voe	+ ō	+ ia	ī	67 sold	sould	—	
oar	bē(r)	—		68 told	tould	—	
oarse	—	ias		69 dough	+ dō	—	duf
more	—	—	mea(r)	70 comb	kjem, kōm	kēm	
ore	—	—	sea(r)	71 lord	load; Ellis:	—	
low	ā	—			laad	—	
row v.	—	+ ō	ā	72 go	—	Ellis: ga ¹⁾	
snow	—	—	ā	73 owe	—	Ellis: ō	
now	au; Ellis:	ō		74 say 'asoe'	—	—	sē (EDD)
	+ ou	—					

¹⁾ This form is due to early shortening of /gā/. Note the numerous cases where the was shifted from the verb to its adverbial complement or its predicative.

To sum up the data of the modern list, the following words appear with *o*-forms both in north and south Durham:¹⁾
boat, ghost, groan, road, stroke, oath, so, two, now, slow, snow, sow, soul, ought, one, bold, old, hold, dough = 19

only in nDur: *broad, clothes, drove sb., foam, goat, loaf, mean, soap, oar, only, whole, who, woe, boar, own, cloth, gone, nothing, drove v., cold, fold, sold, told, comb, lord* = 25

only in sDur: *crow v., throw, low, owe* = 4

No *o*-forms are recorded of: *alone, bone, both, load, most, stone, toad, oak, oats, home, toe, hoarse, more, sorc, blow, know, saw pret., ask, none, holiday, hot, once, rode, wrote, go, dial. say* = 26

Thus the number of adopted word-forms amounts for nDur to 44, for sDur to 23, for the whole district to 48.

A comparison between the numbers obtained will immediately suggest that Standard English influenced the language of our records comparatively more effectually than it has influenced the living dialect. This fact will stand out the more clearly if we observe that there are in our texts several words with *o*-forms which are found only in vernacular forms in the present dialect: *stone, both, none, more, most, know, go, load*. It is significant, however, that 6 out of these 8 words occur in the correspondence of the Durham priors and in legal deeds (*CoP*). These types of language were, of course, far ahead of the vulgar tongue in adopting literary word-forms. This advanced character of the *Co* texts will alone account for the somewhat startling result of our comparison. But it is surprising that the present dialect should have no borrowed forms of *stone, load*, seeing that *o*-forms of these words are very common in our rolls. It would seem, therefore, that Ellis's and Wright's statements are incomplete and that there are really mod. *o*-pronunciations of these words. If once adopted, it is very improbable that they should have become disused.

¹⁾ sDur [*fɔd*] 'fold' is not counted here, see p. 37.

Of the regular *lord*, *CoP*, Ellis still records the pron. [laəd] for nDur, but Wright gives only [loəd].

The mod. dialect has now *o*-forms by the side of some of the genuine forms given in the list on p. 30: *awen*, *gayt*, *sawles* (nDur [oun, gôat], Dur [sou]). These three instances are the only positive evidence of an increase in the number of *o*-forms from the status indicated by our spellings up to the present day. But to these must be added some of the mod. *o*-words which are not recorded at all in the texts and which presumably represent later adoptions. Moreover, the influence of StE must have manifested itself, during the NE period, in a more thorough incorporation of the adopted forms into the dialectal vocabulary.

It remains to be seen what information is to be gathered from the phonology of the borrowed forms. ME $\bar{o}$ is considered to have reached the stage / $\bar{o}$ / in StE about Shakspeare's time (Jespersen, MEG I, 8.11: /fo:l/ 'foal'); the diphthongization to / $\bar{o}u$ /, mod. [əu], belongs to the 19th c. The vocalism of the modern dialect appears under the following forms: [ō, óə, oə, wóə, $\bar{o}$, ó, o, wo, ou, ū, u].

To begin with, we shall have to reckon, theoretically, with the possibility of some early loan-forms (e. g. those found in our texts) having joined in the development of dialectal / $\bar{o}$ /, i. e. the continuation of OE *o* in open syllables. This / $\bar{o}$ / is in nDur [ō, óə], in sDur [uə, wuə]. Now the bulk of the loan-words have [ō, óə], and it would be tempting to take these vowels to be due to this same development. But we are inclined *a priori* (see further under $\bar{o}$ -) to regard the nDur types for $\bar{o}$ - as introduced (sDur [(w)uə] being genuine). Further, [ō, óə] are not confined to nDur — as they would be if developed together with $\bar{o}$ < $\bar{o}$ —: n & sDur [rōd, roəd, strōk], sDur [grōn] obviously betray themselves as intruders. This much is certain, then, that the pres. forms in [ō, óə]

have nothing to do with the presumably inorganic series ($\bar{o} >$) $/\bar{o}/ > [\bar{o}, \bar{o}\bar{a}]$ in nDur. — If we keep to the words *boat, clothes, ghost, loaf, soap, so, old*, all of them current in our rolls during the presumed $\bar{o}$ -period in Standard English, we find that they all have $[\bar{o}]$ or $[\bar{o}\bar{a}]$. These vowels can hardly be regarded as dialectal substitutions for StE $\bar{o}$, or as secondary internal developments. It is more probable that they were adopted with the words themselves from received speech. — As for the existence of the type oa within StE, we know that it is a southern and Midland variety of ME $\bar{o}$ (Luick, *Unters.* §§ 41 ff., Wright, *EDG* §§ 93, 121) and thus was very likely to make its way into StE. It is mentioned by Gill (1621) as a Lin. peculiarity: (toaz, hoaz) for *toes, hose* (quoted Luick, *Unters.* § 61), and seems to have become well established within standard speech, for Nares (1784) still gives a disyllabic received pron. *woad* (ME *wōd*). — But what about the chronology? There are two alternatives. One is that the words mentioned were introduced with the vowel $/\bar{o}/$ and were subsequently re-adjusted in conformity with later StE pronunciation: $/\bar{o}/$ or $/\bar{o}\bar{a}/$, as the case might be¹⁾. The other is that ME $\bar{o}$ was already pronounced $/\bar{o}/$ by the time the incorporation was going on. This explanation need not meet with severe objections. The stage $/\bar{o}/$ may well have occurred in spoken StE a long time before it was recognized by orthoepists and grammarians.

sDur $[b̥wōat]$ is best accounted for in the following way: StE $/b̥ōt/$ was adopted so early as to join the words with $\bar{o} < \bar{u}$ and developed into sDur $*/b̥wūat/$; later on it was remodelled under the influence of the later StE variant $/b̥ōat/$, which appears in nDur in its unfringed shape. The process indicated by $[b̥wōat]$ is interesting in that it sheds some light on the question just dealt with. It suggests that the early loan-forms really passed through the dialectal development

¹⁾ These pronunciations have since remained unaltered. Cp. the remark made by Horn, § 93: 'In Nordengland ist $\bar{o}$ ($<$ ME $\bar{o}$) bewahrt geblieben'.

$\bar{o} > (w)u\bar{o}$; but the forms resulting from it have all been removed by the operation of continued StE influence¹⁾. We hence obtain support for the first alternative above: it is now obvious that all the present $[\bar{o}, \bar{o}\bar{o}]$ -forms may have supplanted older loan-forms in $/(w)u\bar{o}/$, or else $[\bar{o}]/$.

$[\bar{o}\bar{o}]$ in nDur $[l\bar{o}\bar{o}d]$ 'lord', $[\bar{o}\bar{o}(r)]$ 'oar' may, of course, have developed within the dialect, on account of the r .

$[\bar{o}]$ occurs in nDur $[b\bar{o}(r)]$ 'boar', $[b\bar{r}\bar{o}d]$ 'broad', sDur $[f\bar{o}d]$ 'fold', $[\bar{o}d]$ 'old'. The sDur forms are dialectal, developed from $/aud < auld < \bar{a}ld/$.

$[b\bar{r}\bar{o}d, b\bar{o}(r)]$ may refer either to ME, or to later StE pronunciations, 17th and 19th c. respectively. If they belong to the early period, they must have persisted unchanged from their adoption up to the present time. But then we cannot well understand why these two words should have been preserved intact, while all the other loan-forms found in the texts were re-adjusted. It is probable, therefore, that *broad* and *boar* — if incorporated into the dialect during the early period — had the vowel $/\bar{o}/$, which was exchanged later on for the more recent $[\bar{e}]$.

Obviously internal are the shortenings of older $\bar{o}, \bar{o}$ in Dur $[s\bar{o}]$ (unstressed), sDur $[g\bar{o}st, \bar{o}\bar{p}, \bar{o}d]$ 'old', $[\bar{o}d]$ 'hold'. Dur $[w\bar{o}n]$, nDur $[k\bar{l}\bar{o}\bar{p}, n\bar{o}\bar{p}in, g\bar{o}n]$ may have been short in StE already. $[w\bar{o}n]$ corresponds to a ME form with prothetic w : $/w\bar{e}n/$, suggested by the ME and eNE spelling *won(e)* (parallels: *whole, whore, whome* 'home', *whore* 'hoar', *whot* 'hot', see Luick, Unters. §§ 85—6, Horn § 96, Jespersen MEG

¹⁾ Some material supporting the isolated sDur instance may be supplied by the adjacent dialects. Ellis's district 30² (ne Yks, bordering on the Tees, the southern frontier of D 31² = sDur) has $[u\bar{o}]$, palæotype (uuu), in *toad, road, oar, hoarse* $[u\bar{o}s]$, *those* $[\sim \bar{\delta}\bar{o}\bar{o}]$, *ghost, boat, goat*; $[\bar{u}]$ in *only*; *oats* is $[w\bar{o}ts \sim w\bar{a}ts]$, *dough* is $[d\bar{u}f]$ (Ellis, p. 527). Wright gives $[u\bar{o}]$ in Cum *road*, in Cum *moan, foam*, swNhb *load, goat*, seNhb *boat*. All these $u\bar{o}$ -forms are of internal growth, identical with that of words with $\bar{u} < o$. In these districts, however, the influence from received speech has not been strong enough to remove all the original forms, as it did throughout Durham.

I, 11.21). It has ousted the form used by our scribes (*on*, *oon*).

A special group is formed by the words in orig. StE */ōu/* < *aw* and < *ā + ld*. This */ōu/* was monophthonged to */ē/* in the 16th c. (Salesbury 1547, Hart 1569, etc.) and joined orig. */ē/*, became */o/* in the 17th, and was diphthongized to */ou/* in the early 19th c. (Horn, § 137). Both Durham districts have [*ou*] in *ought*, *soul*, *bold*; */o/* in *snow*. [*ou*] occurs, moreover, in nDur *move*, *slow*, *snow*, *own* adj., *cold*, *fold*, *hold*, *sold*, *told*; */ō/* in sDur *move*, *crow*, *slow*, *throw*, *sow*, *low*. The pron. [*out*] cannot have been borrowed after the monophthongization of */ou/* (16th c.). A diphthongal form of this word did not appear again in StE, after */ōt/* had been supplanted in the 17th c. by dialectal *[ōt]* (Horn, § 142). [*fould*] was the pronunciation prevailing in the 16th c., as is shown by the DAR spellings *-fould*, *foeld*. As for the rest of the pronunciations, it would be fruitless labour to try to bring them into a chronological system on the basis of the present material.

In order to give a full account of the forms in [*u*] and [*u*] appearing in the dialect it will be convenient to make a survey of the occurrence of *u-*, *u-*, and *u-* pronunciations of ME *ū* (Luick, *Unters.* §§ 40—48, 88—89; Horn §§ 96, 97, 100; Wright, *EDG* §§ 93, 121).

(1) *ū/* > *o* > [*u*, *u*] under weak stress, as in *-hood*, *who*, *whose* (*whom*). This development is not confined to any special dialect. Other general developments are: */wōmb/* > *wōmb/* > [*wum*] and eME */twō, twō/* > [*tu*]. 'un, as in *a good un*, *summun*, etc., seems to be due to a weak-stress development of */ōn/*.

(2) */ē/* > */u/* in dialects of middle and south Midland. In the older periods of received speech some of these forms were in use: */gust*, *kum*, *lum/* 'ghost', 'comb', 'loam'.

(3) */ē/* > */u/* > [*u*], abundantly recorded for eSuf and ne Nrf: *bone*, *stone*, *only*, *ghost*, *boat*, *oats*, *wrote*, *rode*, *road*,

oath, both, stroke, home, whole, loaf, oak. Also in Midl. diall., as [duf] 'dough', etc.

(4) / $\bar{o}$ / > / $\bar{u}$ / > / $\bar{u}$ / > [$\bar{v}$] in eastern and Midland dialects ('ungefähr in einem nördlich der Themse nach Westen verlaufenden Streifen', Luick, o. c. § 48). Residua from these dialects in StE: [nvn], [wpiy], (?) [wvn], [stvn] (the weight); formerly [hvl] 'whole', [ʃvn] 'shone'. — [duf] 'dough' in mBck, eSus, etc.; [drvv] 'drove' in sOxf, ne Nrf, n Ken, Sus.

(5) / $\bar{o}$ / > [$\bar{u}$]: 'Das Gebiet des $\bar{u}$ lässt sich ungefähr bezeichnen als ein Streifen, der sich vom mittleren Teil der südlichen Abteilung mit einer Unterbrechung im südlichen Mittelland bis zu den südöstlichen Grafschaften Schottlands zieht; namentlich consequent durchgeführt erscheint es in Yorkshire [cf. foot-note p. 37] und Südschottland'. Luick, o. c. § 40.

If we take these facts into consideration, it will be evident that circumstances were favourable for a great many dialect-forms with an *u*-vowel to push their way into received speech. In all probability the number of such pronunciations was considerably greater than is directly suggested by the old authorities.

Now Dur [duf], nDur [drvv] go to prove that these southern or Midl. dialect forms were current within received speech or the variety of it known to the Durham people. [duf] is the orig. loan-form, but later on / $\bar{d}\bar{o}$ /, the prototype of mod StE [dou], found its way into nDur.

Our survey was necessary also to account for some recorded spellings. The pron. / $\bar{u}$ / is unmistakeable in *horsse coumez* DAR 1510 [see (2)], *torwe* 'two' 1544, *torw* 1568, *too* 1593, Dur [tū] (1), *stoone* (the weight) 1592 [see (4)]. In *boyt* DAR 1511, *loyde* ib. 1541; *-cloythe* HoB passim, *loyde* ib. passim, *loyffs*, *roys*, *roypez* ib. *oy* must be intended to denote / $\bar{u}$ /, or else it is an attempt at rendering the old dialect type / $\bar{u}$ / [see (5)]. As to the phonetic value of *oy*, see under $\bar{o}$.

— More doubtful are the *Co* spellings in *oo*: *noone* 1440, *whoos* 1440 etc., *oon* 1441 etc., *evermoor(e)* 1441, *lyveloode* 1441, *soo* 1442, *moor* 1444, *goo*, *agoo* 1447. It is true that *oo* is used in these texts in alternation with *o*, *ou* to denote StE /u/ < eME $\bar{o}$ (: *bouke*, *son* — *soon* — *souner*, *done* — *doon*, *dose* — *doos*), and that *oo* is found almost exclusively in such words as are actually recorded with *u*-forms. Note especially: /mūr/ 'more' Hodges 1644; /gu/ 'go' Wallis 1652, Price 1668, quoted Luick, o. c. §§ 88, 112, 139, 143. An *u*-pron. in these words, as well as in *so*, is easily accounted for according to (1) (note the stress-shifting in (*n*)*evermore*, *any more*, *no more*, *much more*, etc.); it seems, moreover, that eME $\bar{o}$ was early changed into $\bar{o}$ when final, so as to join original ME $\bar{o}$. But we must not infer from this that *oo* here means /u/. The *Co* correspondents were familiar with StE writing, and the *oo*-spellings are probably nothing but direct imitations of StE spellings. Their phonetic value is / $\bar{o}$ /. Ellis's nDur [wɔ] 'who' apparently belongs to this group of loan-forms.

III.

eME $\bar{e}$; OAngl $\bar{e}$ — guttural γ (*h*).

A. eME $\bar{e}$.

The sources of eME $\bar{e}$ are: 1) OE $\acute{e}$, e lengthened, 2) OE $\acute{eo}$, 3) OScn $i\acute{o}$.

DAssR: *Brereton* 1242, 8 (OE *brēr*).

DAR:

(1) < OE $\acute{e}$:

Brerton 1392, 339; *Brercroke* 1459, 89; *Brercroke* 1480, 98; *breercrukez* 1488, 655.

Cheseclathe 1330, 518; *Chesfattes* 1334, 525; *cheseclathis*

1347, 545; *chesecloutes* 1371, 577; *chesfattetz* 1459, 89; 1469, 93 (< non-WS *čese*).

ij paribus de crell 1323, 13; *creles* 1324, 15; 1337, 84; 1340, 37; *uno payr de Crell* 1361, 126; *uno par de Crell* 1372, 210; *krelis* 1380, 389; *crellys* 1394, 214; *sande crelys* 1402, 217 (NED: '*Creel* Originally north., and chiefly Sc., etymology uncertain. The vowel appears to be *ē* or *ei*, *ai*.' Et.D: < OF *creil*, L. **crāticulum*, 'an angler's osier basket').

2 brodgeys 1404, 398 'brood-geese'.

Sandhell 1326, 15; *Sandhells* 1338, 35; *Sandeelez* 1425, 620; *Sand El* 1536, 671 (< OAngl. *ēl*).

Greenledes 1341, 541 (meaning uncertain); *Grenwax* 1377, 586; *Grenginger* 1384, 594; *lyghtgrene* c. 1420, 617; *Bukkys-horngrene* 1422, 619; *Grenewell* pers. n. 1465, 412; *Grynwell* 1483, 414; *Grenwell* (2) 1485, 157—8 (< OE *grēne*).

13 Kelinges 1323—4, 13 etc. (4); *4 kyling*, *30 keling* 1340, 37; *keling* 1344, 40. This word offers an example of OEScn monophthongization *ei* > *e*: OWScn *keila* 'gadus longus', Björkman p. 61.

Lekesede 1500, 101 (< late Angl. *lec* < OAngl. *lēc*, Bülbring § 193).

meles 1330, 518; *j mele* 1357, 124; *Tunnyngmell* 1362, 565 (Gl.: 'We find *le tunmele* in Hatf. Survey, App. 205, explained in the Gloss. as 'a large tub'. It seems to have been used in putting ale etc. into the casks'). *j una mele lingner* 1370, 263; *1 mele lignio* 1404, 397; *8 meel calcis* 1440, 410; *j meyle* 1459, 89; *ij melys*, *j meyl*, *j mele* 1480, 97; *10 melys* 1507, 104; *magno vase vulgo a mele* 1510, 661; *iiij mellis* (2) 1512, 105 (NED: OE *mēle* a tub, bucket. — The original meaning of the word was evidently 'measuring vessel', and it was then generally used for 'bucket, tub'; cf., as to this widening of sense, Swed. 'mätt' = 'a small vessel'. Halliwell translates 'cup or bowl'. Related to OE *mēl* 'portion, measure'.

Paknedel 1341, 542; *paknedils* 1377, 587 (< OE *nædel*).

Rekpen 1338, 776; *Rekpenys* 1351—2, 552; *Rekyngpenys* 1401—2, 603 (OAngl. *rēc*).

unyonsede 1356, 558; *unyonsede* 1468, 92; 1471, 93; *lekesede* 1500, 101; *-sed* 1507, 104; *annessedes* 1523, 666 (< OE *sæd*).

Shepecroke 1459, 89; *Shepecroke* 1480, 98 (< OE *scēp*).

heuedshete (2) 1454, 148; *a sheytt* 1541, 743 (< OAngl. *scēte*).

stele 1419, 406 (< OAngl. *stēli*).

The instances of OAngl. *strēt* are very numerous. It occurs only in compounds (street-names) and is invariably written *-stret* in the 14th century. From the 15th c. we note *-stret* (1416, 406), *-strete* (1438, 75). From 1500 onwards (to 1541), the distribution of the different forms is this; *-stret* (1), *-strete* (1), *sowth street* (two words!) (1), *-streit* (2) (the same scribe has *-strette*), *-strette* (3), *-strett* (14).

Paktrede 1341, 542; *pakthred* 1406, 606; *threde* 1454, 634 (< OE *thræd*).

(2) < OE *éo*:

V. Bewyk pers. n. 1375, 331; *N. Biewyk* 1392, 351 (2) (OE **bēowic* 'bee-dwelling'. Björkman p. 202).

i barell de bere 1418, 615 (< OE *béor*).

pro mundacione de les flettes circa le Holme 1480, 322 (*Fleet* 'a creek' < OE *flēot* a creek, a place where water flows).

G. Sether, *G. Sythar* pers. n. 1414, 225; *G. Syther* 1430, 288; *Sethynghouse* 1459, 89; *sether* passim (< OE *sēoð*).

thethers 1376, 386; *thethir* 1383, 390; 3 *Tethirs* 1394, 599; 1 *tedyr* 1396, 214; 1 *tethyr* 1404, 398; *tethirdes* 1445, 235; 1 *teder* 1465, 243 (ME *tedir*, OE **tēoder*).

bagsadiltres c. 1341, 541; *Girthetres* 1344, 544; *auxiltres* 1378, 587; 3 *swyngtreys* 1396—7, 214; 1 *retrogh* 1402, 217; *axiltre*, *axiltreys* 1404, 398—9; *carsadiltrees*, *ladesadiltrees* 1418, 615; *trechargeours* 1480, 97; *Pro serracione j par de le*

Sheretreyse pro molendino, 5 d. *Et pro 4^{or} magnis et grossis clavis ferreis pro dictis lez Sheretreyss*, 8 d. 1511, 662; *sadletreys* 1536, 697 (< OE *tréow*).

infanketheyff 1509, 195 (Gl.: the right to take and try a thief caught on a manor).

wedhokis 1404, 398 (< OE *wéod*).

qweltimber 1376, 584; *whele barowe* 1459, 89; *whelewright* 1474, 414; *cogwhelle* 1528, 164; *whelwryght* 1536, 701; *wehyll* 1541, 742; *whcall* 1541, 720 (< OE *hwéol*).

(3) < OScn *ió*:

2 keylfulis 1478, 647 Gl.: 'keels are barges or ships of burden'. (< OWScn *kiöll* 'ship', OE *čēol*; see, however, Björkman, p. 142 and foot-note).

Skeles 1330, 518; *2 skeles* 1339—40, 311; *skelles* 1377, 586; *ij skelez* 1459, 89; *ijj Skelys* 1480, 98; *ij skeyllys* 1512, 105; *le Skyll* 1516—7, 106; *iiij^{or} le skelys* 1525—6, 108 (Björkman p. 123: NE dial. *skeel* a milking pail < OWScn *skióla*). Here also belongs the following example: *In herdnyg et uno schele empt. pro le Hough 6 d.* 1376, 386. *schele* is in the Gl. mistaken for *shele*, *sheill* 'shiel' and is explained as 'a shealing or winter shelter for shepherds'. The passage is obviously to be read: For rennet and a milking pail . . . 6 d. The price of a 'shiel' was considerable: in 1338 (p. 201) the Eleemosinary paid 8 li. for a '*schele in Rokehop*' (see also p. 603, where the prices are 40 s. and 53 s. 4d. respectively).

FP:

(1) *Brerehyllside* c. 1259, 114.

ijj brodgees 1411.

Th. Hatfield 1411.

(2) *beyr* 1488—9.

infangthefe 1138—40, 86.

ijj axhiltriss 1367.

v weydhukis 1465.

whelewrighte3 1480—1.

(3) *j skeyll* 1465; *ij skelys* 1479—80.

FR: (1) *pakkethreed* 1433.

(2) *skeyllys*, *skeles* usually, but *ijj. skyllys* 1491, 129.

WR: *tetheris* 1433; *teydders* 1489; the usual vowel is *e*.

CoP:

(1) *bese kyng* 1451, 121; *bese kand* 1441, 122; *bese kyng*, *beseek* 1444, 153 (OE *-sēca(n)*).

I grete you 1447, 160 (OE *grēta(n)*).

in hys keepyng 1440, 114; *has been kepytt* 1441, 117; *keepyng* 1441, 124; *keppe you* (subj.) 1444, 153 (OE *cepa(n)*).

you leete me (pret.) 1442, 132 (OE *lēt*).

mete (inf.) 'meet' 1463, 191 (OE *mēta(n)*).

need 1441, 118 etc.; *nedefull* 1456, 183 (OAngl. *ned*).

spech 'speech' 1442, 136 (late OE *sp̄æc-e*).

speed 1444, 153 (OE *sp̄ed*).

3er 1414, 86; *yecarly* 1438—9, 110; *yhere3* 1440, 114; *yheer(e)* 1441, 117, 118, 120; *yheerly* 1442, 138 (OAngl. *3er*).

whe 'we', *yhe* (nom.) 1440, 116.

(2) *fredome* 1414, 86; *fre* 1441, 117; *free* 1441, 118.

held (pret. pl.) 1441, 118.

lesyng of . . . 1463, 191 (OE *-lēosa(n)*).

sekenesse 1456, 183.

thefe3 'thieves' 1463, 191.

thre 'three' 1441, 119.

HoB:

(1) *cheysecloth3*; 254 — *cylles* 'eels' 2 — *Th. Whitefylld* 185.

J. Grynwell 82, *Greynwell* 83; *R. Greynewood* 37 — *meyllis* 'drinking cups' 11 — *annedsedds* 42, *annedseds* 38, *annedsedes* 44.

(2) 97 *fleyslys* 132 (OE *fleos*) — *sadiltrehis* 18

(3) 1 *keyll* 'boat' 63.

The origin of ME *s(c)hele*, mod. *sheel*, *shiel*, *sheal* Sc, Cum, Nhb, 'a hut, shed, cottage' (EDD), is doubtful. The following instances are found in our texts: *adquisiuit illam schele* 1338, 201; *pro uno schell* . . ., *pro uno schelle* 1400—1, 603; *pro parvo Sheele* 1415—6, 140; . . . *Shele in Werdale* 1427—8, 142; *1 sheyll in Wardell* 1528—9, 163. It occurs, moreover, in place-name compounds, as in: *Rokopschele* 1338, 201; 1402—3, 220; *Garpischele* 1339—41, 311 (2); *Brunhopschel* 1387—8, 314; *Burnhopschele* 1380—1, 314; 1403—4, 218 (2); *Rokehopschell* 1441—2, 235 (2). The plural of the simplex is the origin of the place-name *Shields*, *South* and *North*. Some early instances in the sg. most likely refer to the former of these places. Forms: *Schelis* 1307—8; *del Schel* 1299; 1309—10; *le Schell* 1323—4, 1337—8; 1340; *del Schelles* 134.; *del Scheles* 1375—6, 1401—2; *Sheles*, -z 1414—5; *Sheles* 1415—26 (6); *Shelez* 1438—9 (5); *Sheles* 1474—88 (4); *Sheilles* 1505—6; *Shelez* 1512—3; *Shellez* 1523—4 (2), 1536—7 (2). *HoB* has the following forms: *Sheles*, -z, *Shelles*, *Sheylllez*, *Sheylls*, *Sheyls*, *Shelley*, *Sheyley*.

There existed in ME a group of words with the meaning 'temporary building on a pasturage, shepherd's hut, cottage'. It will be appropriate to give a list of these words:

(1) *scale* (< OWScn *skāli*), recorded from the 12th c. onwards (see Björkman p. 93, Lindkvist p. 189, 191 ff.).

(2) *scalingas* 1225, *scalingam* c. 1230—68 (NED), see p. 23.

(3) *Scheles* 1255 (Nhb), *Aleynscheles* 1270 (? Dur), *Aldisheles* c. 1270 (Nhb), see Lindkvist, l. c.; *Shelis* DAR 1307 etc.

(4) *sciales*, *shales* 1291 (Tynemouth) NED, *schale* C. M. (cf. Björkman p. 93). The pron. [*fel*], given by NED for *shiel*, properly belongs to this variant.

(5) *schæling*, *shealling*, 16th c., (NED) — [*ſēlɪŋ*] < an older [*fāliŋ*]: *J. Schaylyng* DAR 1392, 350 may be this form (but the same scribe has the spelling *Skalyng*).

(6) *schilling*, 16th c. (NED), mod. *shieling*, *shealing*.

(7) *sheild* 16—17th c., *sheyld*, *sheald* 17th c., *shield* 18—19th cc., at in *N.* and *S. Shields*, from confusion with *shield* (NED).

Skeat (Conc. EtD) regards *shiel* as an anglicized form of OWScn *skiól* 'a shelter, cover' (for the substitution of /f/ for /sk/, see Björkman p. 9 ff.). Lindkvist (see also NED) is inclined to derive it from a conjectural OAngl. **scēla*, an exact formal equivalent of Scn *skāli*, orig. 'a bowl-shaped hut' (o. c., p. 191). Neither of these views can be positively confirmed by our present material, but the probability of the latter seems to be added to by the following considerations. -*sheles* is in place-names substituted for -*scales*, of which it must

have been felt to be an exact synonym, whereas Scn *skiól* meant 'shelter'. The formation of the secondary forms in /ʃ/ on the original *scale*, *scaling* seems to be better accounted for by assuming influence from a current native word with the same sense. And if *shele* was really introduced from Scn, we should expect to find somewhere an unaltered form with *sk*. A pers. n. *G. Skeloss* DAR 1512—13, 662, etc., *Skelus* 1534—5, 111, etc., *Skeles* 1544, 726, etc.; *Skelus*, *Skelousse* HoB, passim, no doubt goes back to OWScn *skál-hūs* (= *skáli*) or a native *scale-hūs*, the development being /*skál(h)us* > *skēlus* > *skelūs* > *skeləs*/, and so has nothing to do with *shiel-house* (q. v. NED). Cf. *Skelbrook* (Doncaster) < *Scalebro* Domesday Book (Johnston, 'The Place-names of England and Wales').

Normal development.

In our dialect, as nearly over the whole territory, eME *e* normally developed into [ɪ] (EDG, § 142). It is important to note, however, that Ellis assigns a diphthongal value to this sound in D 31⁶ (Weardale and Teesdale): "the first element is deeper than [i] [as in *pin*] and approaches [e] [when lengthened, the sound in *name* without any vanish]"; the second element is [i] close, pp. 635, 82*. In 32² (S. Shields) the sound is close [i], pp. 673, 81*.

That this development is genuinely dialectal appears from sDur [*prɪd*], nDur [*prɪd*] as against StE [*pred*] 'thread' (nDur has also a shortened form [*prɪd*] < /*prɛd* < /*pred*/, (see under *e*). The *FR* form *-threed* 1433 is to be read /*prɪd*/.

Orthographical evidence of the change:

(1) *y*, *i* for *e*: — DAR: *kyling* 1340, *Sythar* 1414, 1430, *Grynwell* 1483, *Skyll* 1516 — FP: *axhiltriss* 1367 — *FR*: *skyllys* 1491 — *WCorr*: *yi* 'the' c. 1447, 241; *dyocis*, *hir* 'here', *prist* 1461, 245 — HoB: *Grynwell*, *Whitefyld*. — Nearly all these cases — *Sythar* and perhaps *hir* excepted — had better be referred to the development *e* > *ĕ* > *i*. As will appear later on, the symbols *ie* (*ye*), *ei* (*ey*) — earliest instances *sweyngtreys* DAR 1396 and *Biczwyk* ib. 1392 — are conclusive criteria of an *i*-pronunciation. For the present, it will suffice to compare the following spellings: *any's co'fyt*

DAR 1361—2, 126; *Anyes co'fyet* ib. 1365—6, 127 — *Biewyk* (2) ib. 1392, 351; *Hatfield FP* 1411.

(2) *e* for *i*. — We must here leave out of account the equivalent of OE *i*, since we have to reckon with a change of this vowel towards diphthongization. One instance, however, will prove useful for our purpose, viz. the place-name *Sherburn*. The oldest spelling in our texts is *Schireburne DAssR* 1242, 24, 28. 1st member is OE *scīr* 'a shire' (or possibly the adj. *scīr* 'bright, pure'), see Johnston p. 440. The vowel was slightly shortened on account of the following consonantism and consequently was kept monophthongal. Its general acoustic effect must have come very near to that of /i/. I give the instances from *DAR*: *Schirburne* 1278, 486; *Sherburn* 1344—5, 544; 1349—50, 551; *Southshirburna* c. 1360, 564; *Schirburne* 1367—8, 570; *Shyrburne* 1381—2, 132; *-i* 1383, 133; *Schirborn* 1392, 347; *Sherbourne* 1395, 136; *Schirburn* 1398—9, 215; *Sherburn* 1441—2, 184; 1442—3, 144; *Shyrburne* 1465—6, 279; *Sherburn* 1479—80, 248; 1502—3, 102; 1536—7, 688, 692.

Examples of *e* for original *i* in stressed position: — *DAR*: *Twel*¹⁾ (: LowG *twillen*) 1371, 130; *redell* (OE *hridder*) 1397, 445 (*Rydellis* ib.); *Elezabeth* 1497—8, 250.

Instances of *e* for Lat. /i/: — *JR*: *cameni* 1313 (= *camini*, passim), *crebrae* 1333 (*crebrarum* 1367), *crebrum* 1371 etc. (= *cribrae* etc., passim) — *DAR*: 3 *crebra* 1404, 398; *Derige* 1441, 471; *lapedea* 1472, 247 — *FP*: *selego* (= *siligo*) 1372—3. — *e* for Lat. *i*: *predectas DAR* 1449—50, 632.

We cannot expect the new value of *e* to be expressed phonetically by *y* (*i*), for this would have suggested the pronunciation of the old *i*-words and thus made the words unintelligible, or else ambiguous, in cases such as *mele* 'measure', *sede* 'seed', *whele* 'wheel'. As a matter of fact, the cases of

¹⁾ *Twel*, also with *ey*: *tweyld* ib. 1457, 635; *JR* 1480, may contain the vowel /i/, cf. ModSc *twel* 'twill'.

y (*i*) for /*i*/ are extremely rare and must be looked upon as scribal errors. They are not early enough to serve as chronological tests, but the inverted spellings — *cameni* 1313, *crebræ* 1333; *Sherburn* 1344, etc. — are sufficient evidence that the change $\bar{e} > \bar{i}$ belongs to the first half of the 14th century.

Special developments.

1. Apart from the words [*biə(r)*] Dur 'beer', [*briə(r)*] nDur 'briar', [*jiə(r)*, *iə(r)*] nDur 'year'¹), where the last element of the diphthong is the vocal glide produced by *r*, the same [*iə*] occurs in Dur *heel*, sDur *fiend*, *bred* (pa. ptc. of *breed*), nDur *feed*, *feel*, *field*, *free* (EDG Ind. and Ellis p. 635—6). This diphthong, representing older /*i*/ < eME $\bar{e}$, occurs regularly or in alternation with /*i*/ in parts of Yks, Lan, Lin, in sMidl, and in swCy (EDG § 142 and Ind.). It must be a comparatively recent modification of /*i*/ and is easily accounted for in the districts mentioned. In sDur the [*iə*] (first element open) is an extremely common diphthong, since it represents: (1) eME *a*-, as in *name*; (2) eME *ā*, as in *stone*; (3) eME $\bar{o}$, as in *moon*; (4) eME $\bar{e}$, *e*- before *r*, as in *hear*, *wear* (Ellis p. 635 ff.). But it is difficult to explain why *heel*, *fiend*, *bred* should be the only words of this class to partake in the general levelling of different vowels under [*iə*]. In nDur the phenomenon is the more startling, as [*iə*] (first element close) is found, apart from the cases under notice, only in words belonging to category (4): *to tear*, *to bear*, *pear*; *hear*, *dear*, *deer* (Ellis p. 673).

2. Ellis gives [*eɪ*] (both elements close) for D 31⁶ in *bee*, *three*, *be*, *see* (p. 636). Wright has the following pronunciations for sDur: [*beɪ*, *bi*] 'bee', [*preɪ*] 'three', [*beɪ*, *bi*, *bi*] 'be', [*seɪ*, *sɪ*] 'see'. Ellis's word-list for D 32² has no examples. Wright's nDur forms are: [*bi*] 'bee', [*preɪ*] 'three', [*bi*, *bi*] 'be', [*seɪ*, *sē*, *sɪ*] 'see'.

¹) It seems that this pron. is intended by the spelling *yecarly* CoP 1438—9, 110; cf. the other forms, p. 44.

By means of Ellis's palæotype we are able to state that this diphthong is different from that going back to eME *i*: in the latter case the sDur type is made up of open [*e*] [F *bête* short, Ital. open *e*] and open [*i*] [in StE *pin*], as in sDur *like*, or of [*a*] [as in Germ. *mann*] and open [*i*], as in sDur *five* (see further under *i*). Thus in sDur we have four different diphthongs developed from an older *i*, viz.:

(1) [*iɪ*] < /*i*/ < eME *ē*, standard type of eME *ē*, in *feet*, *thread*, etc.

(2) [*eɪ*] < /*i*/ < eME *ē*: in *bee* etc.

(3) [*ɛɪ*] < eME *ī*: in *like* etc.

(4) [*aɪ*] < eME *ī*: in *five* etc.

It will be noted that the four types represent, in the order given, a rising scale of progressiveness from an historical point of view.

The table shows that in sDur any /*i*/ has been liable to be diphthongized, that eME *ē* developed more rapidly when final than in other positions, and that the diphthongization of eME *ī* has not been uniform.

There is an analogous distribution of *i*-diphthongs in other northern dialects and in Sc. The chief types found by Murray and Ellis in the dialect of sSc (Ellis's D 33) are:

(1) [*ɛi*], 'resembling the vanishing received *ā*, as in *lay*', in the great bulk of old *ī*-words, as *wide*, *pipe*;

(2) [*ei*], 'having for the first element the received [*e*] as used in London *net*, *men*, so that the distinction (*ei*, *éi*) is delicate', in: (a) *by* (of agency) — (b) *he*, *me*, *we* — *bee*, *knee*, *free*, *tree* — (c) *sea*, *weigh* — (d) *fly* sb. and vb, *lie* 'to fib' — (e) *night*, *right*;

(3) [*ái*], 'the regular "broad *ī*"', in: *cry*, *fry*, *dry*, *wry*, *apply*, *sky*, *sty* — *five*.

(Murray p. 114 ff.; Ellis p. 711, 717 ff.).

In this list, too, the diphthongs are arranged in a progressive scale of development. Here the accelerating effect of final position is still more clearly brought out. Indeed,

$i < eME$ $\bar{e}$ and $\bar{e}$ has, in this position, proceeded a little farther even than eME i in the majority of cases, the *ai*-stage having been reached by this vowel only when final.

In Durham there were some cases where final $\bar{e}$ did not advance so far as $[ei]$: we find sDur $[i, mi, wi, ji]$ (nDur $[i]$ etc.) 'he, me, we, ye' as against sSc $[h\bar{e}i, m\bar{e}i, w\bar{e}i]$. These exceptions might well be referred to the weak stress of the words, but since the neighbouring dialect of sNhb has $[ei]$ regularly, it is preferable to take this sound to be genuine for Dur too, although the original forms have been normalized under StE influence. Likewise sSc $[k\bar{a}nei]$, sNhb $[nei]$, sSc $[trei]$, n & s Nhb $[trei]$ may originally have had Dur parallels $[nei]$, $[trei]$ (Wright gives nDur $[ni]$; no pron. is given for 'tree').

B. OAngl $\bar{e} +$ guttural $\bar{g}$ (h).

Spellings:

DAssR: *Hewrthe* 1235—6, 97. From 1242 are; *Hewrth* p. 37, *Heywrthe* (3) 42; *Heywothe*, *Heywrothe*, *Heyworthe*, *Hewroth*, *Hewrothe* 58—59; *Hewrthe* (2) 64. 1st member of this place-name seems to be OAngl *hēh*, *hēg*; 2nd member is OAngl *werð* 'farm, estate'. *DAR* spellings: *Heucorth* 1278, 486; *Heworth* 1336, 533, etc., last instances from 1536—7.

la leye pl. n. 1242, 31; *la Leye* 1306, 117; *la Legh* (2) 1331—2, 118. OAngl *lēh*, gen. *lēge*, 'a lea, meadow', mod. spellings *lea*, *lay*, *ley*. It is extremely common as the second member in place-names: *medmeslege*, *Meāmosle*, *Bradele* p. 66, *langelege* p. 70, etc., *unesleie* p. 71, *Hamsterlege* p. 34, *Hamsterle*, *Hamsterley* p. 41, etc., *Hamstelis* p. 71 — all from 1242.

DAR: *flywinges* 1313, 513 'nails of some kind, perhaps 'sprigs', in form likened to flies' wings' Gl.; *boterflies* 1305, 128 (OAngl *flēge < flēoge*).

the hye wood 1541—8, 721; *the hye alter* 1557—8, 715; *the highe wode* 1591, 734; *the highe wodde* 1593, 736.

nighe therto 1593, 736 (OAn gl *nēȝ*).

FP: butterflys 1411.

FR: Heyeworth 1338, 24 (see above).

WCorr: hy 'high' c. 1447, 241; *hely* 'highly' ib.

y^{} heyth* c. 1460, 246 (OAn gl *hēhðu*).

CoP: your hee wisdom 1442, 134; *in hegh whirshypp* 1444, 153;

The Erle . . . att deid 'died' 1441, 117; *the priour at dede* 1442, 133 (late OE *dēȝan*).

GA: the hye wayes 1580, 11, etc.; *the hie wayes* 1586, 13, etc.; *our high waies* 1628, 56; *the he feeld* 1635, 62; *the hyefield* 1637, 64.

OE *wegan* 'to carry, weigh', with *e* + gutt. *ȝ* seems to have fallen in with this group. And the sb. *wēȝe*, mod. *wey* (see Skeat, Et. Dict. 1888), where the spirant became palatal in OE and where we should expect the same development as in OAn gl *hēȝ* 'hay' (see p. 1 ff.), assumed, in course of time, the vocalism of *wegan*. Spellings: — *DAR: Wechingbalk* 1383—4, 390; — *CoP: weghid* pa. ptc. 1456, 182; — *GA: weaingē* 1621, 50. *DAR: 2 wegh* 1443, 83; *Weyscill* 1447—8, 87; *Weyscalez* 1457, 635, 636; *ȝ^{bus} weys salis* 1470—1, 643; *j par Weez* 1480—1, 97; 1485—6, 99; *1 Wey* 1504—5, 658; — *FR: weyscalez* 1491 (a), *weyschelys* 1491 (b); — *CoAcc: in uno waw iiij libris* 1366; *uno dim. wau* 1373; — *GA: weyskale* 1600, 27.

Here follow the present pronunciations of some words of this type, as given by Wright and Ellis.

	nDur (D 32 ^a)	sDur (D 31 ^b)
<i>high</i>	EDG: [ai] Ellis (305): [hai], as in <i>by</i> , <i>five</i>	[ei] [hei], as in <i>bee</i> , and <i>like</i> , <i>wide</i> , etc.
<i>height</i>	EDG: [eit], [it] Ellis (306): [heit], as in <i>side</i> , <i>write</i> , etc.	[eit] [heit], as in <i>high</i> 31 ^b

		nDur (D 32 ³)	sDur (D 31 ⁶)
<i>lea</i>	EDG:	[l̄i]	—
<i>fly</i> sb.	EDG:	[fl̄i], [flai]	[fl̄i], [fleɪ]
	Ellis (414):	[fl̄i], as from eME ē, not final: <i>wheel</i> .	[fleɪ], as in <i>bee</i> , etc., or [fl̄i]
<i>fly</i> v.	EDG:	[fl̄i]	—
<i>nigh</i>	EDG:	[n̄i, nai]	[n̄i]
	Ellis (307):	—	[n̄iɪ], as in <i>he, keep</i> , etc.
<i>neighbour</i>	EDG:	[neibə(r) + naibə(r)]	[neibə(r)]
	Ellis (359):	[neibə], as in <i>side</i> etc.	[neibə(r)], as in <i>wide</i> etc.
<i>die</i>	EDG:	[d̄i]	[d̄i]
	Ellis (438):	[d̄i], as in <i>field</i> (eME ē)	[d̄iɪ], as in <i>he</i> etc., [d̄i]
<i>weigh</i>	EDG:	[wei]	—
	Ellis (189):	[wei], as in <i>side</i> etc.	[wei], as in <i>like, wide</i> , etc.
<i>eye</i>	EDG:	[i + ai]	[i + ei]
	Ellis (348):	[i]	[ei, i]
<i>lie</i> (< <i>lēgan</i>)	EDG:	[l̄i]	[l̄i]
	Ellis (415):	—	[liɪ] see above, [li]
<i>thigh</i>	EDG:	—	[p̄i, peɪ].

(a) *Phonology.*

The development of ē + guttural ȝ is totally different from that of ē, æ, e + palatal ȝ. This is in no way surprising if we consider that in the latter case the vowel and the spirant, when in final position and before consonants, had already combined to form a diphthong in OE times, hence the ONhbn spellings *heig* (< *hēȝ*) 'hay', *meiden* (< *mæȝden*) 'maiden', *ðeign* (< *ðegn*) 'thane', etc. (Bülbring § 505), whereas gutt. ȝ was kept consonantal and thus allowed the ē to go through a development of its own.

This latter process has been dealt with at length by

Luick, Studien pp. 145 ff., whose argument I follow pretty closely in my account. The spellings brought together above should be compared with those adduced by L. pp. 149—151, of which, indeed, they are mere repetitions. The conclusion drawn by L. from his material had better be presented in his own words: 'Das ursprünglich gutturale, später palatale ζ in Fällen wie ae. *flē(a)ȝ*, *ē(a)ȝe*, *nizon* ergibt im ME stimmlose Spirans im Wort- wie im Silbenauslaut, möge er schon altenglisch sein oder erst im Mittelenglischen entstehen, es wird dagegen zu $\dot{\imath}$ vokalisiert im Anlaut der nachtonigen Silbe. Das so entstehende $\bar{e} + \dot{\imath}$ wird später zu $\bar{i}$. Daher stammen die Doppelformen auf *-egh* und *y(e)*'.

(1) The details of the first development, starting from OE $\bar{e} +$ originally voiceless spirant, are clear enough. The vowel here runs parallel to other $\bar{e}$'s. To judge by the forms *Hewrthe DAssR* 1235—6, *Bradele* ib. 1242, the spirant was dropped early in medial position before consonants and in unstressed syllables. Here belong: *hely WCorr* 1447 (< *hēhlice*), *heyth* ib. 1460 (< *hēhðu*), pron. /*hēp*/ (as to the spelling, see p. 59 f.). This form corresponds to nDur [*ɪ*], where the final consonant has been changed. When absolutely final, under normal stress, the spirant is left out in some of the earliest spellings recorded by Luick, from the early 14th c. This type is exemplified in our texts by *la Legh* 1331, *hee* 1442, *hegh* 1447, *he* 1635. It yields mod. [*i*, *ɪ*], as may be seen from sDur [*nɪ*, *nɪi*] < lME /*nɪ*/ < ME /*nē*/ < eME /*nēχ*/, OE *nēh*, nDur [*lɪ*] 'lea', etc., but in the case of *hēh* the type does not seem to have survived in the Dur dialect. When medial between vowels the spirant was kept longer, as appears from the spelling *Wechingbalk DAR* 1383. The symbol *ch* is very little used and cannot be merely traditional here.

The same result (mod Dur [*i*]) is arrived at also by some words in orig. $\bar{e}\zeta$: $\bar{e}\zeta e$ [*i* (~ *ai*, *ei*)], *flēge* sb. [*flɪ* (~ *flai*, *flɛi*)], *flēgan* [*flɪ*], *lēgan* [*lɪ*, *lɪi*], *dēgan* [*dɪ*, *dɪi*]. The [*i*] in *eye*

may have been transferred from the ME plur. /ēn/ < the syncopated form /ēχne/ (spellings: *een*, *eghen*, *ehne*), and the vowel of [f*li*] and [l*i*] might possibly hail from the ME preterites *fleg*h**, *leg*h** (< *f*lē*h*, *l*ē*h*), but no such origin can be claimed for [f*li*] sb. and [d*i*]. The type is represented by a number of spellings in northern texts: *he(e)* 'eye' (*een*), *flees*, *de*, *dees*, *ded* Curs. M., MS C.; *fleg*h*es*, *deg*h** MS F.; *eg*h*(en)*, *fleg*h**, *leg*h*ed*, *leg*h** sb. Surt. Psalter; *deg*h** Evang. Nic.; *deg*h*e* Prick; *dee* Wars of Alex., etc. To account for these forms we must assume that the words in OE *ēȝ*- produced, in connection with the *e*-apocope, a second set of /eχ/- combinations which fell in with the older /eχ/ < OE *ē*h**. The existence of such forms proves that *ē* before *ȝ* was not essentially changed by the time the final *e* was dropped.

(2) The second line of development starts from the combination *ēȝ*- and ends in ME /i/, present [*ai*, *ei*]. We will try to reconstruct the intermediate stages of this series on the evidence of the spellings in our texts and of those collected by Luick. The original spelling *lege* is still very common in *DAssR* 1242, but the younger *-leye*, *-ley* occur too, as well as *Hey-* (< *hēȝe*). The same type is spelt *Heye-* *ƳR* 1338. Some Cursor spellings seem to me to be especially suggestive: *hiȝ*, *lighes*, *liges*, *wryghes* — *sli*, *sliest*, *fli*, *flies*, *lies*, *lier*, *wries* MS C.; *hiȝ*, *fliȝs*, *sij* — *sly*, *sliest*, *flic(s)*, *drie*, *lye*, *liest*, *sie*, *sy*, *die*, *dyed* MS G.; *hyȝe* — *hye*, *stie*, *flye*, *lye*, *lied*, *dye*, *-d* MS F.; further *stiyhen*, *liyhers* from the Surt. Ps. (*yh* = /j/). Such pairs as *fliȝs* — *flies*, *hyȝe* — *hye*, *liyhers* — *lier* apparently imply that *ēȝ* became /ij/, *iȝ*/ and that then the consonantal element was dropped. Thus the course of the process has been the same as was already suggested in OE times by some sporadic late Mercian forms: *ligende*, *fliȝu* 1 sg., *smikende*, where the consonant was palatalized and caused the preceding vowel to be raised (*Bülbring* § 323, 513). *fly-* *DAR* 1313 is our earliest phonetic spelling of the ME pron. /i/ (mod. [*ai*, *ei*]) and proves that the stage

/i/ was reached in our dialect not later than c. 1300. The same vowel occurs in *hy WCorr* 1447 etc., mod. [(h)ai, (h)ei]. The prevalence in this word of the type *i—ai* already in ME is clearly borne out by the recorded spellings.

A new question presents itself in connection with the *e*-apocope. It is evident that the chances for the development $\bar{e}\bar{z}(e) > \bar{i} > ai$ were considerably reduced by the loss of *-e*. We find, however, that /i/-forms are extremely common in ME. Luick observes that scarcely any one of all the texts examined gives the preference to one of the types to the exclusion of the other and meets this fact with the assertion that it must be due to levellings within the inflectional system (p. 152). If we accept this view, the process may be tabulated as follows:

OE	<i>e</i> -apocope	1300	14th c.	19th c.
<i>héh, hēȝ</i>	$\begin{cases} h\bar{e}\bar{\chi} \\ h\bar{e}j- \end{cases} \begin{cases} er \\ est \end{cases}$	$> h\bar{e}(\bar{\chi})$	$> /h\bar{i}/$	$> [h\bar{i}]$ (not Dur)
		$> h\bar{i}i$	$> h\bar{i}$	$> [(h)ai, (h)ei]$
<i>flēȝe</i>	$\begin{cases} fl\bar{e}\bar{\chi} \\ fl\bar{e}j-es \end{cases}$	$> fl\bar{e}(\bar{\chi})$	$> /fl\bar{i}/$	$> [fl\bar{i}]$
		$> fl\bar{i}i$	$> fliz$	$> [flaiz, fleiz]$
<i>dēȝa(n)</i>	$\begin{cases} d\bar{e}\bar{\chi} \\ d\bar{e}j \end{cases} \begin{cases} es, ed, \\ and, \\ iȝ \end{cases}$	$> d\bar{e}(\bar{\chi})$	$> /d\bar{i}/$	$> [d\bar{i}, d\bar{i}i]$
		$> d\bar{i}i$	$> d\bar{i}$	$> [dai]$ (not Dur).

Thus [(h)ai, (h)ei] has its vowel from the comparative and the superlative; [fl̄i] is the orig. singular type, but [flai, flei] has the vocalism of the plural. It might be objected to this that in some cases, as in *high*, the /i/-forms were not numerous enough to prevail over the /ē/-forms. It is perhaps preferable, therefore, to explain the regular alternation of both types within the same district as due to the confusion in the inflectional system arising from the *e*-apocope, i. e. the change of the $\bar{e}$ in the position now under notice coincided chronologically with the loss of final *e*. Under such circumstances, *flēȝe* would turn into *flēχ* or *flēje*, according to individual

habits of speech, or to differences in style, etc. In isolated cases the *-e* would linger on for some time, thus furthering the growth of the /*i*/-type, as seems to have happened in the weak declension of the adjectives. This would furnish a natural explanation of the conspicuous prevalence of the /*i*—*ai*/-type of *high*. The unexpected Dur [*dī*, *dīi*], as against usual northern [*dai*] etc., is due to a development of the pret. *deȝde*: eME /*dēχde*/ > ME /*dēd*/ > lME /*dīd*/ (spelt *deid* 1441, *dede* 1442), the vowel of the pret. having been extended to the inf.

There remain some special cases. It is doubtful whether *nighe* 1593, nDur [*nai*], is a genuine dialectal form. If so, it may perhaps have originated from an eME type **nēȝe*, formed on the analogy of late OE *hēȝe* adv. (cf. Sievers § 319, and NoME spellings: *nei*, *ney(e)*). For the present, I am not in a position to ascertain the existence of this form in ME. Or it may have taken its vowel from the verb, cf. *neizand*, *neyes* Curs. M. Of *neighbour* only one spelling is recorded by Luick: *nehbor* Metr. Engl. Hom., which would give pres. [*nɒb(r)*], not found in Dur (but occurring in seNhb, nCum, and in many Sc diall.). Since we have no ME forms to go upon, the mod. forms in the list above are ambiguous and allow of no conclusion.

Another doubtful case is Dur [*wēi*] 'weigh'. The ME forms point to /*ē*/ (*weching*, *weghid*), and, as a matter of fact, [*wi*] is the pres. pronunciation of the word, e. g. in me & se Nhb. The spellings of *wēȝe* are identical with those of *wegan*: *wegh*, *weez* (as to the *ey*-forms, see later on). Further, the sb. *weight*, OE (*ge*)*wiht* (Skeat), has generally the same vowel as the vb (EDG Ind., Ellis no. 460), i. e. Dur [*ei*]. This is an unmistakeable indication that the verb engrafted its vocalism on the corresponding nouns, and thus we need not derive *weight* from OWScn *v'ett* < **væht*, as do Kluge-Lutz, Engl. Etymology (cf. Björkman p. 257). Now

DAR has *troywe3tes* 1459—60, 89, which looks like a received form with /eɪ/, the adoption no doubt being due to the official character of the word. The mod. pronunciation may well go back to this form, and it goes without saying that [wei] may also be standard English. *weainge* *GA* 1621 is ambiguous, but it probably means /wēɪŋ/, the StE type.

(b) *Orthography. Origin and use of orthographical ey (ei).*

The normal spellings in our texts of the forms described under (1) are *egh* (rarely *ech*), later *e*, *ee*; of those under (2) *ege* (only in *DAssR*), *eye*, *ey*, *y* (*i*). I think it is important to keep the two orthographical series strictly apart. Luick (pp. 158—9) is of opinion that the numerous *ey*, *ei* in the MSS of *Curs. M.* and *Metr. Engl. Hom.* belong to the first series: they would render, in a traditional way, the pronunciations arising from *ēge*, *drēge*, etc., after the *e*-apocope. This seems quite inadmissible. First, there is no evidence whatever of a generally accepted spelling *eye* of the words in question *before* the apocope; on the contrary, the many *-lege-* forms in *DAssR* show that *ege* kept a very strong position in orthography. In all probability, then, the scribes had no previous type *eye* to go upon. Secondly, if the scribes had had to express the phonetic group /ēɣ/, they would not have hesitated to seize upon *egh*, the regular ME continuation of orig. OE *ēh* (in *héh*, etc.). Further, it appears quite improbable that we should have to do with two different developments in such series of spellings as, e. g.: *hei*, *hey*, *hij* — *drei*, *drie* — *leies*, *lies(t)*, *lye* — *seie*, *sie*, *sij*, *sy* in MS *G.* of *C. M.* We might conclude, moreover, from the negative result of Luick's considerations that his starting-point is erroneous, or at least largely so. We are able now to lay down the general rule that *ey* (*ei*) belongs to the second series and is the prototype of *y*, *i* (= /ī/, mod. [aɪ]), and that it means /ī/ in 14th c. spelling, allowance being made, however, for the possibility of its being misread for *e*(*gh*) (= /ē/) when

occurring in words for which both types were current within the dialect. The frequent use of this archaic symbol in northern texts is no doubt due to the fact that the use of the phonetic symbol *y*, *i* in its stead would have radically disguised the words. It should be noted that all the words belonging here are short, the vocalism quite essentially constituting their graphical appearance. In my opinion, it is no mere chance that *y*, *i* is first met with in words which begin with two consonants or are dissyllabic; MS C of C. M. has: *fli*, *sli*, *lies*, *lighes*, *liges*, *lier*, *wries*, *wryghes* (but no such forms of *hēȝ* (*hiȝ*!), *sēȝ*, *ēȝ*, *dēȝ*). Moreover, the tendency to avoid too short words may have been already working at this time.

It is not to be decided whether mixed spellings such as *seich* 'saw' C. M. MS E., *wryghes* MS C., *flighand*, *liegh*, *lighed* Surt. Ps., etc., represent real pronunciations, /sīχ/ etc. They had better not be taken too seriously if occurring in pure NoE texts, since the retention of the spirant is a Scotch peculiarity.

As far as our own texts are concerned, we have scarcely any etymological *ey*-spellings in native words from the 14th c. (only *Heyeworth* *JR* 1338). But there is a small number of instances from this period of another use of *ey*: *Egeilscllyffe* *DAR* 1318 (: *Eggilscliff* 1333—4), *felcis* 1340 (?), 203, else *felies*; *Anys comfeyt* 1357—8, 124; *gowneis*, *-eys* 1376, *iij Gaueyls* c. 1380, 132. The vowel of the unstressed syllable is /i/, and it is obvious that the *ey* (*ei*) has slipped from the pen quite unawares, but then the scribes must have been well acquainted with the *i*-value of the symbol they happened to make use of. Another case in point is offered by the spellings of the pers.-name *Alanus Spy* *CoAcc.* p. xcv, *A. Spey* *ib.* p. civ, immediately after 1298. It may well be that orthographic doublets like *fly(s)* — *fley(s)* have given rise to the above spellings, but it should perhaps be pointed out that in Anglo-

Norman too, as early as the 12th c. and onwards, *ey* is occasionally used for /i/ without etymological justification, e. g.: *creient*, *choiseir*, *geisent* in Brandan (end of 12th c.), *conqueis*, *ceyl* (ecce ille), *quey* 'qui', etc., Boeve MS D. (2nd half of 13th c.), *nobleie*, *deyse* (dicam), *aveis* (14th c. texts), etc., (Stimming p. 187). The possibility of this practice having been extended to English writing is not to be rejected. The spelling *comfeyt* seems to be directly copied, from OF or from AN, although here *i* was the regular symbol of older $\bar{e} + i$ (so in Boeve: *confiz*, *respit*, etc., see Stimming, pp. IX, 187, and cf. Menger p. 57).

The use of *ey* for orig. $\bar{e}$, well-known from NoE and Sc texts, does not appear in our records until about 1400: *-treys DAR* 1396, *-geys* 1404, *meyl* 1459, etc. (see material under $\bar{e}$).¹⁾ To understand the origin and true import of this *ey* we shall have to start from the following facts as prevailing within the dialect by the end of the 14th c. OE $\bar{e}$ was pronounced / $\bar{i}$ /; old $\bar{i}$ had no longer its original value and its symbol could not conveniently be used to denote the new sound of $\bar{e}$. Further, there existed phonetic doublets of the numerous old $\bar{e}h$ -, $\bar{e}g$ - words, the equivalents of eME $h\bar{e}$ — $h\bar{i}$, $f\bar{e}$ — $f\bar{i}$, $d\bar{e}$ — $d\bar{i}$, $l\bar{e}$ — $l\bar{i}$ etc., written *he(gh)*, *hee* — *hey(e)* (*hye*), *fle(gh)*, *flee* — *fley* (*fly*), etc. The old-fashioned type in *ey* must have been liable to be identified in pronunciation with that in *egh*, *ee*; consequently, the phonetic value generally associated with *ey* was / $\bar{i}$ /. But, all the same, *ey* would probably not have acquired its extensive orthographical function had not the more positive influence of Anglo-Norman orthography been at work. The following tolerably certain points may be picked out, by way of illustration, from among the confused mass of AN spellings:

(1) The two most important and frequently recurring

¹⁾ Orthographical *ey* sets in at the same time in Sc: *seyne* (OAngl *zesēn*, adj. *zesēne*) 1397, *deid* (Angl *dēd*) 1398, *feird(e)*, (*fēorða* < *fēowerða*) 1400, 1439, *heir* (*hēr*) 1409, *keip* 1412, etc. (Ackermann pp. 39 ff.).

symbols of AN $\bar{e}$ are *ie* and *ei*: (a) *cliers* (clarus), *piert* (paret), etc., (b) *seit* (sapit), *espeie* (spada), *leveiz* (levatus), *remaneir*, etc. Another variant is *ee*. Menger p. 39, Stimming p. 175.

(2) Central-French *ie* was exchanged for AN *e*, which is by far the most common spelling in AN (quality $\bar{e}$). But this sound was also expressed by *ee*, *ei*, *i*, all of them apparently common enough. These three variants also occur in F loan-words in ME. Stimming pp. IX, 201; Menger p. 57.

This implies that the symbols of F $\bar{e}$ most characteristic in the eyes of English scribes were *ie* and *ey*. At this late date, however, this $\bar{e}$ had proceeded to $/i/$ in the loan-words, as probably also in AN itself as spoken in our district. Seeing that *ey* was well-known from native words, it was only natural for the scribes to give the preference to this symbol, not to *ie*, which is rare in our texts: *Anyes co'fyet* DAR 1365—6, 127; *Biewyk* (2) ib. 1392, 351; *-field* FP 1411, etc. Standard English, after some time of wavering, decided in favour of *ie*, there being no native *ey* of a nature to influence the choice: *field*, *yield*, *believe*, *thief*, *fiend* — *friend*, on the pattern of *grief*, *siege*, *chief*, etc. The *-field* forms recorded may, of course, be StE.

It will be clear after this that 15th c. spellings such as *wey* 'wey', *deid* 'died', *heyth* 'height', *seyghe* 'saw' C. M. MS F. (1st half of 15th c.), *eyghe* 'eye' ib. imply $/i/ < \bar{e} < \bar{e}\dot{x}$ and thus stand in no direct connection with the type $\bar{e}\dot{x} > /i/ > [a]$.

Our somewhat circumstantial account of *ey*, etymological and orthographical, may be summed up into the following general statements.

- (1) Etymological *ey* seems never to have had the value $/\bar{e}/$.
- (2) I have found no instance where orthographical *ey* can be proved to denote $/\bar{e}/$ (except, of course, the few cases recorded in ONhbn: *nēidfaerae*, *forlēites*, *gebrēicon*, etc. Bülbring § 505, Anm. 2).
- (3) In all probability, orthographical *ey* was primarily

seized upon to express quality, not quantity. It is used for short *i* as well; *le redeyll* (a disease of lambs) *DAR* 1417, 318; *Spreyng* 'a well' 1480, 157 (*Spryng*, -e ib.); *qweissyngs* 'cushions' *FR* 1480; *leynge* (*lyng* ib.) (OWScn *lyng*) *DAR* 1501—2, 481; *freynges* 'fringes' (ME *fringe* < OF *frenge*) 1505, 102; *bukkeyles* 'buckles' 1536—7, 697; *Shefeyld* 1541—2, 741; (*tweyld* 'twilled' *DAR* 1457, 635, *FR* 1480 may contain /i/).

IV.

OE *æ* and *ēa*.

DAR: (1) *teles* 1344, 40; *i tele* 1347, 41; *tels* 1348—50, 43; *i teill* 1430, 61, 'a teal' (OE **tæle*, *téle* < WGmc **taili*, NED).

whetbarn 1471—2, 93 (OE *hwæte*); sDur [*wit*].

(2) *3 bemes* 1340?, 203; *i beem*, *8 beem* 1404, 396, 398 (OE *béam*); Dur [*biəm*], nDur [*bīm*].

iiijor betours (= beaters?) 1338, 377; *Betynghamyrs* 1459—60, 89; Dur [*bīt*] inf.

Estland 1338, 376; *estlandbord* 1371—3, 578; *Estland burde* 1404, 396; *Esterling* (OE *éast*); nDur [*ist*].

grete (2), *gretechargeour* 1480—1, 97; *greatte* 1534—5, 111; *graet* (2) 1593, 739 (OE *gréat*); n & sDur [*grīt*], sDur + [*gāt*].

Wellynglede 1371—3, 577; *40 stane of lede* 1404, 397; *Buruleade* 1449—50, 633; *brewlede* 1456—7, 151; *stepled* 1459—60, 152; *Burulede* c. 1467, 642; 1473, 645; 1476, 646; *brewlede* 1471, 156; *Brewleyd* 1495, 654; *Brewleddes*, *Culyngleydes* 1498, 656; *breweleides* 1505, 290; *brewleyde* 1511, 292; *stepled* 1513, 161; *stepleyd* (2), *stepleyd* (4), *brewleyde* (repeatedly) 1517, 294 (OE *léad*); Dur [*lād*].

lepemaker 1360—1, 562; *berlepe* 1396—7, 214; 1404, 398; *leippez* 1495—6, 653; *lepez* 1536—7, 698 (OE *lēap* = Scn *lauþr*, NED).

24 *schethes* 1356—7, 384 (ONhbn *scēað*, Bülbring § 295)

3 *shaffes* (2) 1309—10, 7; *uno shafth calibis* 1377—8, 387; *shaf' calibis* 1380—1, 389; 40 *shafe de Arowheuedes* 1384, 594; *V shaffe sagitt.* 1386—7, 134; 2 *sheff de novo vitro*, 60 et 16 *sheffe* 1404, 397; 29 *shaffe vitri* 1486—7, 416; 5 *shaff'* 1488—9, 99 'a bundle' (OE *scēaf*); nDur [*ʃef*], sDur [*ʃif*].

pro seme et Rufe 1406, 606; *cum seme, rove* . . . 1474—5, 645 'a nail'. NED s. v. *Seam* sb.⁴: 'Sc. and North. Corresponds to ON *saum-r* . . . Represents OE *séam*: *Seam* sb.¹; the sense is probably due to the influence of the ON formal equivalent'.

de vitro j seme 1318, 373; 8 *seym salmon.* 1523—4, 665. See NED s. v. *Seam* sb.² and Skeat, EtD. OE *séam*, late Lat *sauma* < *sagma* 'a horse-load'.

FP: (1) *ij whetridils* 1479—80.

(2) *Eystmoreleys* pl. n. 1510—11.

c lednailes 1360, *ʃ. ledbetar* pers. n., *leydnaill* 1366—7, *-leyd* (repeatedly) 1465, *wortled* 1468—9.

j berlepe 1360, *j berleppe* 1363, *j leypp* 1465, *leppys* 1482—3.

IX *shaffis vitri* 1482—3.

ʃR: (1) *ij ledders* (2) 1491, 127, 130 (OE *hlæder*, *hlædder*); nDur [*leðə(r)*] + [*ladə(r)*].

(2) *A. Cheppeman* pers. n. 1330, 19 (OE *céapman*); nDur [*tʃep* + *tʃap*].

ij leddis 1480 'leads'.

redde 'red' 1441, 128 (OE *réad*); Dur [*rīd*].

WCorr: (1) *setterdy*, *Seterday* c. 1447, 243; OE *Sæter(n)*-

dæg (Bülbring, in his index to *Altengl. El.-buch*, p. 251; in § 533, h, he prints *æ*, as also does Skeat, *EtD*); sDur [*setæð*].

WR: (2) *brewleyd*, *breuled*, *brewleddys*, *culyngledys* 1505, 227.

CoP: (1) *to leefe* 1446, 157; *he lefte* 1447, 160 (OE *læfan*); Dur [*līv*, *left*]

see 1463, 191 (OE *sæ*); sDur [*sī*].

(2) *dede wod* 1429, 104 (OE *déad*); Dur [*did*], nDur + [*deid*]. *the deed of* ... 1442, 136 (OE *déað*); Dur [*dīþ*], nDur + [*dīþ*].

gret, 1440, 114; *grett* 1441, 116, etc. (the usual form); *grete*, *gretter* 1441, 118; *greytt* 1442, 127; *grette* 1444, 153.

HoB: (2) *breydtouells* 'bread-cloths' 254; Dur [*brīd*], nDur + [*brīd*].

Th. Chepman pers. n. 6, 52; *Th. Chapman* 31.

leyde 47, *leydnayle*, *brewled* 78, 100 *lednayle*, *brewleyd* 267.

1 *dd. reyd skyns* 43, *reyde herynges* 44, *reydshanks* (2) 129.

16 *shayffs ordii* 166; 8 *shayff vitri* (3) 170.

GA: (2) *edged with Reed* 'red' 1613, 43.

Of OE *hēafod* I have noted uncontracted forms down to the late 15th c.: — *DAR*: *Arowhenedes* 1384, 594; *ƿ. Swynesheued* 1400, 137; *ƿ. Gatesheued* 1440—1, 627; *hened-shete* (2) 1454, 148; *R. Gatysheuyd* 1488, 98. Instances of the contracted form: — *DAR*: *Hedstall* 'a headstall' c. 1330, 519; *le Stankhede* 1412—3, 610 'the head of a stank, pool, or dam'; 1 *hoggeshede vini* 1483—4, 414; *Gateshede* place-name 1510—11, 661; *Gatyshede* 1513—4, 663; *le hedstylles* 'head-stalls' 1521—2, 195; *Wellehed* (name of a quarry), *Th. Whithead*, *R. Whithed* 1536—7, 668, 686, 696 — *HoB*: 15 *dd. heydds pro sagittis* 139, *Gatyshead*, *-hed*, *Gatyssyd*, *Gatys-syde* passim (see Index) — *GA*: *a heed* 1694, 91. nDur [*hīd*], sDur [*īd*].

The word *fleam* 'a stream, watercourse' apparently also belongs to this group. Spellings in *DAR*: *le fleme* 1432—3,

622; c. 1435, 624; 1466—7, 641; 1471—2, 644; *le mylnfleme* 1475—6; 646; 1486—7, 650; *le fleyme* 1495—6, 653; *le mylne flym* 1512—3, 662. NED: App. a var. of *Flume* (ME *flum*), but the phonology is obscure; there may be some confusion with a Teut. word, OE **fléam* < **flaumo*.

Normal development of OE $\bar{a}$, $\bar{e}a$.

In the Durham dialect, as well as in the standard language, the normal development of both $\bar{a}$ and $\bar{e}a$ is [ɪ]. In view of our observations in the preceding chapter on the origin and use of orthographical *ey*, we do not hesitate to rely on the *ey*-spellings as denoting, generally speaking, the pron. [ɪ]. Of these the isolated form *leydnail* FP 1366 cannot be conclusive; here the scribe has apparently been induced by the monophthongal digraph *ai* to make an inaccurate use of the digraph *ey*. As regards *teill* DAR 1430, we cannot be sure that it contains original $\bar{e}$, for the vowel may go back to OE *e* in open syllable. The *CoP* spelling *greytt* 1442 is not reliable either, since we find *seyd* pa. ptc. in the same letter, and *ey* there no doubt means [e] only. The later forms in *ey* — *leyd*, *leypp* FP 1465; *fleyme*, *Brewleyd* DAR 1495; *-leyd* WR 1505; *Eyst* FP 1510; *seym* DAR 1523; *breyd*, *leyd*, *reyd*, *heydd* HoB 1530—4 — afford conclusive evidence of the transition $\bar{a}$, $\bar{e}a$ > [ɪ]. Here too, as in the case of $\bar{e}$, we can expect the phonetic spelling *y* (i) to appear only exceptionally, and its use can be referred to special causes. Thus in *mylne flym* DAR 1512 the vowel is short on account of its position in the last member of a compound; in *Gatyssyd* HoB the meaning of the last member has not been clear to the scribe, and he spelt according to his pronunciation: [sɪd].

The middle of the 15th century would seem a very early date for $\bar{e}$ < $\bar{e}a$ to have developed to [ɪ], and some additional evidence will perhaps be necessary to support our conclusion. To that end, I refer to Curtis' investigations into

Middle Scottish and early New Scottish phonology, in *Anglia* XVI, pp. 420 ff. He finds that in the extreme North α , β & γ [ten Brink's $\bar{e}$ -types] coincided at any rate as early as the 16th c., and perhaps earlier, § 110. As regards the language of *Clariodus* (composed probably about the middle of the first half of the 16th c., op. c., p. 395), C. arrives at the conclusion that for the author and most of the scribes all $\bar{e}$'s have already become i , as in modern received speech and the mod. Scotch diall. (§ 129). This statement is based on a large number of rimes, not only in *Clariodus* but also in other Scotch texts from the same period. The rimes between French $/i/$ and ME e of all three classes will be found especially conclusive (§ 125). Another evidence of the same development is afforded by the predominant spelling in *ei* in the MS of *Clariodus* ('written about the year 1550 or somewhat later', p. 394). This schews an i -pronunciation in the case of the copyist. It is obvious that a certain pronunciation must have existed in everyday speech for a considerable time before it could be so freely utilized in poetry as is the case with $(i) < \bar{e}$ in late Middle Sc. Accordingly, there will be nothing improbable in assuming that the different e -sounds were levelled under $/i/$ in the Sc. diall. in the course of the 15th century.

It is possible, of course, that the Durham i -pronunciations of $\bar{e}$, like the pronunciations of eME *ei*, *ai* recorded in our texts (pp. 1 ff.), are adopted from standard Scottish. An orthographical phenomenon of later date will perhaps throw some light on this question. In some Durham documents from the 16th and the early 17th cent., which are distinctly vernacular in character, we sometimes meet with the symbol *ea* for certain $/i, \bar{i}/$: *CoP meade* 'meed' (OE *mēd*), 1456, 182 — *DAR wheall* 'wheel' 1541, 720; *geauen* 'given' 1586, 731; *seame* 'seem' 1589, 733; *seastern* 'cistern' 1592, 735—*GA feadethe* 'feed' 3 p. pl. 1591, 16;

creaple 'cripple' 1596, 24; *receates* 'receipts' 1599, 26 etc. *streat* 'street' 1600, 27; *weare bridge* 'Wear Bridge' 1609, 36; *nead* 'need' 1610, 39. The origin of this abnormal spelling is unmistakable: such words as were spelt with *ea* in StE were pronounced with /i/ by dialect speakers, for whom the symbol *ea* thus came to have the phonetic value /i/. Now it is not probable that this conspicuous abnormality should be the first reflection of the new pronunciation in vernacular spelling. The well-known symbol *ey*, used already for /i/ < ē would naturally be the first to present itself to the scribes when older ē and ē had run together under /i/, and thus the series of *ey*-spellings dating from 1465 and onwards should probably be looked upon as representing genuine Durham pronunciations.

The form *les Deynez* DAR 1438, 65, containing ē < ē̄ (OE *denu* 'valley') is of particular interest. It is earlier than any of the /i/-tests for original ē and suggests that an ē̄ of this origin reached the 14th stage earlier than the other ē̄. This would square well with what is known of the quality of lengthened vowels in orig. open syll. For fuller details see the chapter on *īz*, *ūz*.

Special developments.

(1) The normal development to /i/ is implied by the spellings in *ey* quoted on p. 64 — as well as by those in *ee*: *beem* DAR 1404, *deed* CoP 1442, *leefe* 1446, *see* 1463, *Reed* GA 1613. According to EDG, this type of pronunciation occurs in the mod. dialect not only in such words as *wheat*, *beam*, *beat(er)*, *east*, *leave*, *sea*, but also in words where the vowel has been shortened in StE: *bread*, *dead*, *death*, *head*, *lead*, *red*. The exact quality of this vowel in sDur (D 31⁶) is [i̯], a diphthong identical with the modern equivalent of eME ē̄ (Ellis p. 636, nis 350–368, and p. 49 above). Ellis' lists for nDur (D 32²) are incomplete, but point in the same direction. EDG has a few

cases of shortened /v/, alternating with the normal long forms: nDur [*dib*] 'death', nDur [*brid*] 'bread'. The characteristic StE shortening, from the stage (*ē*), is also evidenced by a few mod. pronunciations: Dur [*left*], sDur [*setədi*] 'Saturday', nDur [*leðə(r)*] 'ladder', nDur [*tʃep*] 'chapman'. These pronunciations, where the reasons for the shortening are obvious enough, are represented in our texts by *Cheppeman JR* 1330, *setterdy WCorr* 1447, *lefte CoP* 1447, *ledders JR* 1491. The EDG gives no more examples of this early type of shortening, but there are a good many spellings in the texts showing or suggesting a development of a kind similar to that in StE: *Hedstall DAR* 1330 etc., *berleppes FP* 1363, *grett(er) CoP* 1441, *leddis JR* 1480, *leppys FP* 1482, *redde JR* 1491, *Brewleddes DAR* 1498, *brewleddys WR* 1505, *mylne flym DAR* 1512, *Gatyssyd HoB* 1530—4. Accordingly, if such shortened forms are still to be found in the dialect, — as is very probable indeed — they need not be looked upon as StE adoptions. — The development *ea* > *ē* > *æ* > *a* as in *Chapman HoB*, mod. nDur [*tʃap*], is not likely to belong to the dialect.

(2) The spellings *shaffes DAR* 1309 etc., *shaffis FP* 1482, *shayff(s) HoB*, compared with mod. nDur [*ʃef*], clearly imply that OE *ēa* in this word has coincided with OE *a*, the natural explanation being that *ēa* was shifted to *ea*, no doubt even in OE, and that then the *e* was swallowed up altogether (see Bülbring, §§ 325, 333). *sheff(e) DAR* 1404 can be interpreted as phonetic spellings of shortened /*ʃēf*/ < /*ʃāf*/, or as borrowings from StE, answering to mod. sDur [*ʃif*].

(3) sDur [*gāt*], a by-form of [*grūt*], is due to metathesis: *grēt* > *grēt* > *gert* > *gāt*. — For the vowel in Dur [*biam*] cf. p. 48.

V.

eME ī and y.

DAR:

(1) *ȝ*. — *del byres* 1318, 372; *del bire* 1379, 388; *le Bier* 1425—6, 620; *beerhouse*, *byrehouse* (2), *le byre* (2) 1466, 154; *le byer* 1513, 161 (OE *bȝre* 'a shed, hut').

fireman 1377, 587; *firsilver* 1399, 602; *fireman* 1436, 624; *fyerman* 1536, 703 (OE *fȝr*).

Barhud 1299, 498; *barhudis* 1300, 502; *barhude* 1302, 504; *Barhydys* 1309 ?, 506; *Barhyde* 1334, 526; *Barehud* 1339, 536; *barhyd* 1355, 122; *barehide* (2) 1371, 577; *Barhide*, *barhyd* 1375, 582; *barhidis* 1381, 592; *barehide* 1422, 619 ('a hide with the hair or wool removed' (see Gloss.) (OE *hȝd*).

Thonnokmyre pl. n. 1491, 159 (Scn *mýrr*).

(2) *ī*. — *bridelirnes* c. 1380, 590; *brydylrapes* 1404, 396; *bridillbittis* 1438, 71; *bridilbetez* 1466, 154; *Brydilbittis* 1509, 661; *Bridilbyttes* 1513, 663; *brydelbittis* 1528, 162 (OE *brīdel*).

fyle 1350, 551; *file* 1375, 582 (OAngl *fīl*).

(?) *gestis* 1512, 106; *Jeistes* 1541, 721 'joists' (OF *giste*).

Gylhous 1333, 525 ('where the gyle or wort stood to cool and ferment' Gloss.) (NED: a. Du. *gijl*).

Milnyrenes c. 1343 543; *bridelirnes*, 2 *bronyngirnes* c. 1380, 590; *spadyrin* 1383, 390; *irinbokelles* 1399, 601; *brynyng yryns*, *sowdyngyrns*, *rostyngyrn*, *yrnforkis* 1404, 395—8; *spadeiren* 1484, 98; *spadeiernys* 1502, 102; *on yern shoull* 1541, 742. (OE *īren*).

Iselandfisch, *Yslandfiss*, *Yseland* 1420, 58; *Hyesland*, *Hiesland* 1430, 60.

knyffe, *knife* 1404, 397—8; *-knyfe* 1416, 613; *Carvyngs knyffes* 1498, 655 (OE *cnīf*).

lymkilne 1355, 557; *Lymbrennere* 1363, 567; *Lymbronner* (2) 1368, 575; *lymeridyll* 1472, 413 (OE *lim*).

cloklyn c. 1380, 590; 2 *lynnes* 1404, 396 (OE *līne* 'a cord').

pikes 1347, 546; *Pyke* 1395, 599 (OE *pic*).

pynes 1335, 527 'seeds of some pine-tree' (OE *pīn* in *pīn-trēo*).

vini del Rien, del Ryene 1380, 590 'the Rhine'; *Rynis wyne, Rinischewyn* 1375, 582. The adjective may be derived either from OF *rinóis*, *rynois*, *rainois*, AN *reneis*, or from MHG *rinish*, so that the length of the vowel is uncertain.

Rys 1408, 608; *Reyce* 1440, 78 'rice' (OF *ris*).

del Ryesse, de Riesse 1449, 632; *ryss* 1467, 92; 1471, 98; 1471, 644; *Ryise* 1505, 103; *Ryiss* ib.; *Ricez* 1507, 660; *rysez* 1512, 106; *Ryss* 1534, 112; 11 *sekkes de Reyshez* 1557, 715 'brushwood' (OE *hrīs*).

2 *schyves erea* 1404, 396; (Scn *skifa*).

1 *cithe, sythe* (2) 1404, 396—9 (OE *sīðe* < *sizðe*).

spykyng 1349, 550; *spikkyng* 1372, 211, *spikyng* 1373, 579; —s 1374, 211; *spykyns* 1534, 111 (formed on *spīk* < Scn *spīk*).

Swynsties 1469, 93.

Tyna 1354, 555 'a soe' (cf. Swed. *tīna* 'a tub').

Whiethede pers. n. 1501, 657; *Whitehed, whithed* 1536, 704.

FP:

j fyir chafer 1465 — *le rysdam* 1480—1; *le ryssdam* 1481—2 — *ij le sythes* 1511—12 — *iiij tinæ* 1354 'soes'.

CoP:

bidez therwith 3 p. pl. 1447, 160 'remain' (OE *bīdan*); *liyng* 'reclining' 1442, 127; *lyffe, lyfe* 1440, 114; *liefe, lieffe* 1441, 119 'life'; *Lyk ytt you* 1440, 114, pres. subj.; *lik itt* 1441, 123, *lyke it yowe* 1441—2, 127; *likett* (= like itt) 1456, 181; *tym commyng* 1441, 123; *tyme commynge* 1441, 116; *wiesse* (2) 'manner' 1441, 119; *weisse* 1442, 134; *wyse* 1442, 138; *wrytyng* 1441, 117; *so wrytt* 1441, 124.

HoB:

le byer 176 'bire' — *brydylybytts* 1 — *fyerman* 20 —
2 kye hydes, *2 oxen hyde*₃ 29; *1 styrk hyed* (2), *2 hyeds*,
2 stothyds, *2 oxenhyds*, *1 oxenhyd*, *1 oxenhyde*, *1 cowhyed*,
1 hyd 304—5 — *yrons* 1, *styrropeyryng*, *styrropyrons* 66
*3 pyke*₃, *6 pykerells* 2 — *3 lb. ryeses*, *1½ lb. ryese*, *3 lb.*
rice 39 — *6 dd. wyelfoyle* 'wildfowl' 215 — *1 wype* 'peewit'
 (cf. Swed. *vīpa*) 129.

GA:

byinge 'buying' 1586, 14; *byenge* 1649, 68 — *driyng*
 'drying' 1610, 38 — *hiered* 'hired' 1661, 71 — *Iron* 1610,
 38 — *2 kie*, *2 kye* (2) 'cows' 1591, 14, 15 — *We*
oblage ourselves 1700, 96 — *burthen of Rise* 1610, 38,
Thre burthen of ryse to lay under ye bull hay 1613, 42,
old raiesse 1625, 54 (brushwood, twigs, OE *hris*) — *the*
style 1586, 13, *a staille* 1630, 57 'stile' (OE *stīzel*) — *payd*
for a vayg to newcastel, *payd for thre vayge* 1642 (?),
 66 (ME *viage*).

Before entering upon the chief subject of this chapter, the development of eME *i*, we must make a few observations on the earlier history of OE *ī*. This vowel was kept unchanged down to the 14th century, as may be seen from the spellings of the word *barehide*. The *u* occurring in this word down to 1339 must be a French spelling for /*ī*/. In 1371 the word is spelt with *i*: *-hide*¹). About the same time the other words in OE *ī* also appear with *i*: *fireman* 1377, *bire* 1379. But before that date there was

1) Cf. the old spellings of the place-name *Kyo* (in Lanchester), OE *cȳ-hōh*: c. 1200 *Kyhou*, c. 1240 *Kyhow*, 1382 *Kyowe*, 1673 *Kia*; and those of *Kyloe*, OE *cȳ-lēh* (*lēze*), where the vowel was shortened at an early date: 1228 *Killey*, c. 1250 *Kylei*, 1344 *Kylay*, etc. (quoted from Mawer).

already some confusion as to the pronunciation of $\bar{y}$, seeing that $\bar{y}$ is used for certain $|\bar{i}|$ in: *-yrenes* c. 1343, *spykyng* 1349, *fyle* 1350, *Tyna* 1354, *-lym* 1355. We may conclude, therefore, that $\bar{y}$ coalesced with $\bar{i}$ in the first half of the 14th century.

(a) *General development of ME $\bar{i}$.*

The normal equivalent in modern English dialects of ME $\bar{i}$ is a diphthong, generally of the type $[ai]$ or $[ei]$ (EDG § 154). A change of $|\bar{i}|$ in this direction would have to be expressed by *ei* or *ai*, as indeed is done in southern texts of a dialectal character from the 15th cent. onwards (see Zachrisson, *Engl. Vowels*, pp. 71 ff.; Diehl, *Anglia* XXIX, p. 165). To our scribes, however, *ei* and *ai* were the received symbols of LME $|\bar{e}|$ and $|\bar{a}|$ and it was therefore not very likely that these spellings would be used for a diphthong. As a matter of fact they are very rare.

The best course will be to examine the latest text first. In *GA* we find the following new spellings of old $\bar{i}$: *raiesse* 1625, *staile* 1630, *vayge* 1642, *oblage* 1700. The spelling from 1625 can only imply a diphthong $|\bar{e}i|$. The scribe from 1642 apparently pronounced the same vowel in *vayg(e)* as in *payd*, and, according to p. 14, we do not doubt that this was $|\bar{e}i|$ or $|\bar{e}\bar{i}|$. *staile* corresponds to earlier *style* and must be an attempt at rendering the diphthong. The same applies also to the spelling from 1700. Earlier evidence of the diphthongizing is afforded by the inverted spelling *survoiers* 'surveyors' *GA* 1580, 11 (spelt *survaers* 1617, 48). Later spellings of this type are *Grymes* 1662, 72; *Gryemes* 1668, 75, representing the family name *Graham* (written *crayme* 1583, 12; *crame* 1590, 15; *Grames* 1665, 74) and showing that the symbols *y*, *ye* could denote a kind of diphthong the first element of which was $|\bar{e}|$.

Of course it would be a serious mistake to conclude from the above evidence that the diphthongization of $\bar{i}$ falls

within the 16th century. From a theoretical point of view we must assume that some change or other must have taken place before ME $\bar{e}$ had become $/\bar{i}/$, i. e. about 1300. We shall have to see, therefore, whether the earlier orthography may not, after all, exhibit some traces of the process so obviously indicated by the *GA* spellings.

Curtis (*Anglia* XVII, pp. 125 ff.) has pointed out that in *Clariodus* y is almost always written for OE i and $\bar{y}$ and extremely rarely represents the short vowel. There are other works, esp. Scotch, which show this same difference, but it is not observed strictly till the 16th cent., although a striving after a distinction is observable before this. In some [Scotch] texts the long sound is further often represented by yi . Outside of Scotland the same attempt at a distinction is sometimes found. In many works OE i and $\bar{y}$ are represented by y consistently, while there is some variability in the representation of the short vowel. Occasionally *ey* is used to express the diphthong (*feyre*, *meynde*, *feynde*). — These observations of Curtis' hold good also with regard to our texts. The use of y for old $/\bar{i}/$ increases quite considerably at the expense of i during the 15th and 16th centuries, and in *HoB* y and ye are practically the only symbols used. This must be due to a deliberate attempt on the part of the scribes to express a characteristic pronunciation of the vowel, and there is every reason to believe that in their spelling they had the quality, rather than the quantity, in view (cf. p. 60). In the early period *ie*, *ye* was quite a sporadic spelling of $/\bar{i}/$: *Rien*, *Ryene* *DAR* 1380 (occasionally of old $\bar{e} > \bar{i}$: *Biewyk* *DAR* 1392, see p. 46), but in course of time it came to be a favourite symbol for old $/\bar{i}/$. A rather singular type, only used for this sound and strongly suggesting the diphthongal nature of the vowel, is *yi*, in: *fyir* *FP* 1465: *Ryise*, *Ryiss* *DAR* 1505. The symbol *ei*, *ey*, as used for orig. i , is very rare, being recorded

only in: *Reyce DAR* 1440 'rice'; *weisse CoP* 1442; (?) *Jeistes DAR* 1541; *Reyshez ib.* 1557 'brushwood'. Now *ei* is not used in *CoP* for $|\bar{v}| < e$, and we can accordingly infer that it has here the specific meaning of $|ei|$. This makes it probable that the *DAR* spellings are also to be interpreted in the same way. It will be clear after this that *ee* in the unique form *beerhouse DAR* 1466 cannot possibly stand for $|\bar{v}|$; it is only a bad spelling. In fact, *ee* was not a favourite symbol with the *DAR* scribes and it was therefore liable to be put to a wrong use. In *j frygnpane CoAcc* 1446 we find another attempt at denoting a diphthong, and the same may be said also of *thaiths* 'tithes', occurring in a Scotchman's letter in *CoP*, c. 1442, 140—2. But we may go still further back. The place-name *Hazon* (see Mawer), derived from OE *hezēs-ende* 'hedge's end', appears under the forms *Heisende* 1169, *Heysanda* c. 1250, *Haysand* 1266, *Hysand* 1334. The pron. of this word must have been $|heisən(d)|$ (cf. p. 14), and accordingly *y* has the value of a diphthong in the last spelling.

In order to obtain the most reliable result possible, our examination of the orthographical material will have to be completed by a survey of the modern pronunciations. The following account is compiled from EDG, and no distinction is made between northern and southern Durham, since there is no material difference in the development of $\bar{v}$ in the two districts. The two chief equivalents of ME $\bar{v}$ in the present Dur dialect are $[ei]$ and $[ai]$. The first consists of open $[e]$ and open $[i]$ (see p. 49). (In nDur, according to Ellis, the diphthong has a close first element, but may be identical with that used in sDur, p. 673.) The second variant is the same as StE $[ai]$.

$[ei]$ is the pronunciation in *bide*, *bite*, *chide*, *knife*, *life*, *mine* (pron.), *while* (sb.), *whine*, *white*, *wife*, *wine*, *write*, *child*, *wild* (= 14).

$[ei]$ alternates with $[ai]$ in *bridle*, *ice*, *like*, *side*, *mile*, *fire*, *by* (= 7).

[*ai*] alone is recorded for *dike*, *drive*, *hide* sb., *idle*, *ivy*, *line*, *time*, *iron*, *wire*, *buy*, *mild* (= 11).

my is pronounced [*mai*] and [*mā*]; *dry* adj. and vb. [*drai*] and [*drāi*]; *lie* 'recline', [*lai*, *lig*] and [*l*].

When touching on this problem (p. 49), I took the [*ai*] to be of internal growth, its development depending on the vowel's being final or preceding a voiced consonant. There are several reasons supporting such an assumption. They are well illustrated by the *i*-diphthongs in sSc., given l. c. I think that the ultimate results of the development of *i* in sSc., as analyzed by Dr. Murray, will afford some very valuable assistance in the difficult task of arriving at a general understanding of this process, and I will therefore discuss the matter a little more closely. Types (1) and (2) were given in the succession adopted by Dr. Murray. On closer examination I find that the first element in type (2) [éi] is, in reality, a very high [e] (DSS p. 106, foot-note 2; Ellis p. 710). It is evident that this diphthong represents a less progressive stage than type (1), the first element of which 'is perhaps an opener variety of (e) than the English vowel in *sail*, *say*, or the French in *été*, approaching to (E) [= F *bête* short]' (DSS p. 106). Accordingly the two types should change places in the sSc series. The third type (*ái*) (written *ài* in EDG), occurring finally and before a voiced spirant, is a specific sSc diphthong made up of low *a* (like *a* in F *pas*, *pâte*) and *i*. It is mistaken for *oi* by dialect writers and apparently is closely akin to the [oi] used in modern cockney pronunciation for [*ai*]. When appearing medially before a voiced spirant, as in *five*, *size*, the diphthong is not genuine. The true sSc form of *five* is [feif] 'feyfe', which is nearly obsolete. In these cases, therefore, the vowel is a vernacular substitution for StE [*ai*]. Consequently the distribution of the chief *i*-diphthongs in sSc ought properly to be represented thus:

(1) [ei] in *he* etc.; *bee* etc., *sea*, *weigh*; *fly* sb. and vb. *lie* 'to fib'; *night*, *right*; — i. e. < ME *ē* and *ī* of various origins. To this group (or possibly to (2)) belong words in original *ī* preceding a voiceless cons.: *pipe*, *white*, *nice* (DSS p. 114).

(2) [eɪ] occurring in the great bulk of old *ī*-words: *wide* etc.

(3) [aɪ] in final position: *cry* etc.; also at the end of a syllable: *trial*, *dial*, *denial*, *diamond* (Sc. spelling *dye-mont*), *treacle* (Sc. *trykle*), *lion* etc.

The gradation pointed out here rests on physiological conditions. It has long been known that a vowel is longer when final and before voiced consonants than in other positions. But this alone would not account for the differentiation. The necessary complement has been supplied by the instrumental measurements of vowel-quantity carried out by E. A. Meyer and published in his book *Englische Lautdauer* (1903). He shows there that each vowel-quality has a special quantity of its own, a specific length, as it were. If applied to historical phonology, these principles imply that of two identical vowels developing in a certain direction the one in a final position or before voiced cons. will assume the quality endowed with the greater length. Here follow some measures of the vowel-types now under notice as pronounced under different conditions (the measuring unit being the hundredth of a second):

	<i>ī</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>ɔ</i>
before <i>t</i>	20.1	24.7	26.4	—
„ <i>s</i>	24.1	27.2	35.4	—
specific length	27.8	30.5	34.6	—
final	30.9	31.6	—	—
before <i>d</i>	35.4	36.3	42.7	42.7
„ <i>z</i>	36.1	38.0	41.7	—

(pp. 38, 44.)

Seeing that the general tendency was for the early *i* to develop along the line *ii—ei—ai—oi*, the presumption is that the successive stages would be reached the more easily according as the vowel, on account of its position, had a longer time of articulation allotted to it. It will be objected that the quantities given for final vowels do not justify the rapid course of development which actually took place in regard to final vowels (*ē* in group (1), *i* in group (3)). The explanation no doubt is that final vowels were more drawled in this dialect than they were in the types of received speech examined by Meyer. It is significant that the difference between the types *pipe—wide* is rather slight in comparison to the effect ensuing from final position.

If we turn to the present Durham pronunciations, we find some forms which appear to go against the above principle: [*ei*] before *d* in *bide*, *chide*, *bridle*, *side*, [*ai*] before voiceless cons. in *dike*, *ice*, *like*. It is true that the principle has not always asserted itself — in StE, e. g., no great differences are recognized in the pronunciation of the diphthong — but there is no explaining why old *i*, in direct opposition to the principle, should have developed into [*ai*] before *k*, *s* in a dialect where it appears as [*ei*] before *d*. We understand then that the *ai*-forms are not genuine: they have been introduced from StE. This origin of the *ai*-forms is confirmed by the pronunciations of *lie*: [*li*] and [*lig*] are the genuine Dur forms, whereas [*lai*] will at once betray itself as StE. Instances of vernacular development in final position are [*drāi*], which corresponds exactly to the sSc type (3), and [*mā*] (or [*mai*]) 'my', where the second element of the diphthong has worn away (as in Yks; cf., too, Jones, Engl. Pron. Dict., p. xix, where similar reductions are stated for Public School pronunciation). Thus there is a distinct type of final devel-

opment, whereas in medial position no influence from the following consonant is observable.

General summary. OE $\bar{i}$ and $\bar{y}$ appear as $\bar{i}$ in our dial. in the first half of the 14th century. About this time, before OE $\bar{e}$ had become [$\bar{i}$], this $\bar{i}$ began its change in the direction of diphthongization; its diphthongal value is suggested by an isolated inverted spelling y for [ei] from 1334, and by sporadic spellings in ei from about the middle of the 15th cent., more abundantly by forms in y , ye in the 16th, and in aie , ai in the 17th century. In the present dial. it appears as [ei], except at the end of words, where it is sounded [$\hat{a}i$]. The genuine forms have been largely supplanted by StE pronunciations in [ai]. — It is important to note that in a great number of instances the differentiation between ME $\bar{e}$ and $\bar{i}$ is remarkably small, the present Dur type of ME $\bar{i}$ being, in fact, very little ahead of [ei] < ME $\bar{e}$ final. This is probably one of the reasons why there is so little unmis- takable evidence in our texts of the diphthongization. Further we understand from this that occasional rimes $\bar{e}:\bar{i}$, as in Ratis Raving (see Heuser, Anglia XIX, pp. 405 ff.), do not prove that $\bar{i}$ was still unchanged.

(b) *Special questions.*

(1) OE i/nd . This combination appears in the form [in , ind] in the present dial.: [$bi-ind$] ‘behind’, [$bind$] ‘bind’, [$blin(d)$] ‘blind’, [$fin(d)$], [$grind$], [$wind$] sb. and vb. A nDur by-form [$graind$] is an adopted standard pronunciation. The short quantity is undoubtedly indicated by spellings in *CoP*: *fynnnde* inf. 1441, 118; 1442, 133; *weh fynnd* 1441, 119; *culd fynndi* 1442, 127. There are strong reasons to support the view that the i was never lengthened in these words. First it is not a natural process for the vowel to have been lengthened at one time and then shortened at another. Further, and this is

a more decisive point, *i* was on the whole less liable to lengthening, as will be seen more clearly later on (under *e*). It has this peculiarity in common with the other vowel-extreme, *u*. As a matter of fact, the OE group *und* also remains unchanged in the Dur dial., as far as the vowel is concerned. It is interesting to state, by way of additional evidence on this point, that OE *y/nd* was lengthened in the normal way and then went through the development $\bar{y} > \bar{i} > ei$: Dur [*keind*] < OE (3e)*cynde*, Dur [*meind*] < OE 3e*mynd* (nDur has a double [*kaind*] of StE origin). Note also: OE *imb* > mod. nDur [*im*] in [*klim*] 'climb'. — The sporadic instances of long vowel in the combination *ind* found by Ellis in mod. Sc. (*hind* the animal, *rind*) and by Heuser (Anglia XIX, pp. 401 ff.) in Douglas and Lyndesay (*hind*, *rind*, *wind* vb — *tind*, 'spike of a harrow', doubtful —) cannot be adduced as evidence against the special development of OE *-ynd*. The words *kind* and *mind* are recorded with long vowel everywhere and at any time, whereas the cases of *ind* are distinctly rare and late and are evidently not genuine dial. pronunciations. For 16th cent. Sc. cf. Heyne, § 40 (§ 47 *u/nd*).

(2) OE *i/ht*. The mod. equivalent of this sound-group is [*it*]: [*brɪt*] 'bright', [*lɪt*] 'light' sb., [*nɪt*] 'night', [*rɪt*] 'right', [*sɪt*] 'sight'. There are a few deviations which are to be interpreted as substitutions for StE pronunciations: nDur [*reit*], Dur [*feit*], sDur [*meit*] 'might' sb. — or as direct adoptions from StE: nDur [*lait*] adj., nDur [*fait*], nDur [*mait*] sb. — At first the process was the same as in the South: the spirant was dropped and the vowel was lengthened by compensation. But this took place too late for the new */i/* to partake of the diphthonging; it coincided with */ī/* < *e*, the exact modern form being [*ii*] (p. 49). Orthographical evidence is rare. I have observed only two examples: *reghtewyse* CoP 1429, 104; *seth* 'sight' WCorr c. 1460. 246 (< OE 3e*sihð*), where *e* stands for

/i/. — With this group is to be compared the French loan-word [*dilit*] nDur 'delight', ([*diliχt*] snSc, Kcb) (< OF *deliter*, Lat. *delectāre*).

(3) Shortening of *i* is scarcely to be observed, except in compounds where the vowel came to stand before more than one cons.: *Tynnemuth* DAssR 1355, 112 (earlier forms: *Tynmue* ib. 1235—6, 85; *H. de Tindale* ib. 1242, 48) > *Tīne*.

Numerous examples of this type of shortening are to be seen in Mawer, *Place-names*, as, e. g., under *Wheatridge* and names in *Whit-*. *Whittingham* represents another type: shortening in three-syllabled words (< *Hwitinga-hām*). A few spellings may be given to suggest the date of the changes: *Wytton* c. 1100, *Witton* 1228, 1275, etc., *Hwittingaham* 1104—8. —

In *ryssdam* FP 1481 *i* may be short, but certainly not in *Ryesse*, -ie- DAR 1449, *Ryiss* ib. 1505, and probably not in *ryss* either, ib. 1467, 1534, in spite of the *ss*. *spikkyng* DAR 1372 seems to have /i/; if so the shortening has taken place in the plur. *spikinges* (three syllables). OE *cicen* is represented by *chekyng* HoB 325, where *e* stands for short /i/. The reduction of the quantity is to be accounted for as in the preceding word, or else as in southern English (mod. nDur *tʃikin*, *tʃikn*).

VI.

eME *ū*.

DAR:

l pare de Bowges 1435, 133; 1557, 635 (< F *bouge* 'a bag').

W. Brown pers. n. 1465, 412.

unius Cloure c. 1467—9, 641; 2 *clurres* 1541, 721. Gl.: 'clow or floodgate. The term is still in use in Durham'.
cluttis c. 1310, 511; *Carcloutis* c. 1320, 514; *carteclutis* 1334, 518; *cheseclutes* 1339, 311; 1 *clitta pro moldebredd* 1343, 205; *chesecloutes* 1371, 577; *ij plueclot, moldebred-clot, moldbredcloute, moldbredclote* 1376—83, 386—9; 2 *cartclitts* 1376, 584; *plowghclowtes* 1390, 213; *moldebred-clout, moldibredclout* 1404, 398—9; orig. 'patch', here 'iron plate' (< OE *clūt*).

The word belongs to a group the members of which seem to have been confused on Engl. ground. The Teut. root is **klūt*-, **kleut*-, orig. sense 'mass, piece of stuff'. According to Skeat, EtD, the Engl. descendants may be tabulated thus:

- (1) ModE *clout* 'a patch' < ME *clout* < OE *clūt* < Teut. **klūt*-
- (2) > *clot* 'a lump' < ME *clot, clotte* 'a ball' < OE *clot(t)* < Teut. **klut*-to weak grade of Teut. base **kleut*-
- (3) > *cleat* 'a piece of iron' < ME *clete* 'a wedge' < OE *cléat* < Teut. **klaut*-, 2nd grade of **klūt*-.

Skeat gives also *clite*, as a ME variant of *cleat*, but without accounting for the vowel. The form seems to be identical with our *clitt* 1343, 1376, which may be derived as follows: ME *clitt* 'a piece of iron', older *clytt* < *klutt*-j-.

W. Couhird 1341, 312.

le Cuper 1300, 503; *W. Couper* c. 1348, 547; *J. Couper* 1510, 290; *J. Cowper* 1517, 294; EtD.: *Cooper* tub-maker, der. of *Coop* < OE **cūpe* a basket, Lat. *cūpa*.

Doules 1313, 512 'dowels', origin uncertain.

doun 1397, 445; *downe* 1401, 433; 1418, 461; 'down' (< Scn *dūnn*, see Björkman, p. 235).

in panno pro uno Goune c. 1366, 569; *duobus gowneis* 1376, 387; 2 *gowneys* (2) 1380, 389 (Welsh *gwn*).

Saltehous 1340, 540; *calfhowse* 1367, 386; *Bakhous* 1378, 587 etc.; *le Weriushouse, le Bultinghosse, le Gowse-house, Henhouse, Slawghtherhosse* 1516, 106.

le lowkyng de le Spryng 1485, 157; *le lukkyng j^{us} Spring* 1491, 159 (< OE *lūcan*) 'to pull up or out, to weed', NED; here in a wider sense.

Tynemuth 1324, 167; *Tynmouth* c. 1364, 568.

5 *rowmez* 1457, 637 (< OE *rām*).

le Scourynge 1454, 634; *le scurryng unius fossati* 1458, 411; *le Scowrynge medietatis de le mylnfleme* 1475, 646 'to cleanse'. Skeat, EtD., derives it from OF *escurer*: see, however, Björkman, p. 133, and footnote 2. — I think it will, after all, be difficult to insist on the F origin of this word.

le Sowterlofte 1421, 618 'a chamber in which souters or shoemakers worked' Gl. (< OE *sūtere*, Icel. *sútari*. The same word enters into:

Souterpath 1347, 119; *Sowterpeth* 1404, 222; *Suterpath* 1428, 229; *Souterpeth* (2) 1447, 237; 1449, 239; *Sowterpeth* 1522, 254.

Suthstret 1378, 377. OE *sūþ* enters as 1st member into a large number of street- and place-names. I have gone through the compounds with *-stret* and *-raw*, amounting to about thirty. *u* occurs in three instances from 1338–43, after that time *ou*, *ow* are the only symbols used.

Maltspout 1334, 526; 4^{or} *spultes* 1470, 643; *le Spowte* 1474, 95; 4^{or} *spultes* 1487, 651; *j le spute* 1512, 160 (Teut. root **spūt-*).

Usegate, *Ousegate* 1419, 407; *aqua de Ews* 1532, 198, the river Ouse, mod. pron. [*u:z*].

Although not corresponding to *n̄*, the following place-name may be given here:

Husthaw 1534, 110 etc.; *Ewshow* 1536, 699; *Hewshaw* ibid. 701. This name is the same as *Ulveskahe* occurring in a charter from c. 1196 in *FP*, p. 10. The first member is from OWScn *Ulfr*. The second, OE *sceaȝa*, has been confused, in the *FP* form, with OWScn *skógr* 'a wood' (Mawer, *Place-names*, p. 204.) The first member has undergone the following development: */ulv/* > */uɣv/* > */ūv/* > */ū/*. The pron. aimed at by our awkward spellings is, in consequence, */ūfɔ/*. For the chronology I quote from Mawer *Uuesshawe* 1312.

FP:

ij wandclots 1397; *waynclouts, wayncloutis* 1465.
shouse(=) the usual form; *Murehusfeld* 1376; — *howses*
 1388, *Fordhuss* 1394.

le lowkyng quercuum 1479—80 (see above under *DAR*).

le scowryng fossatorum 1479—80 » » » »

pro trutis 1388—9; *cxl trouts* 1411.

CoP:

house 1414, 86 etc. (the usual form); *howsys* 1429, 104.

thousand 1414, 87 etc.

trowe, 3 sg. 1441, 118; *ltrow* 1438—9, 110; (< OE *trūwian*).

oute taken 1429—30, 104; *wyth oute lettynge* 1441, 120.

HoB:

couper 14; *cowper* 21, 89.

l peayce curse straykyngs 'coarse' 67.

Curthowsse 81; *cowrtehouse* 82; *curthouse* 83.

pro le lewkyng 127.

The following words, which all have the sense 'box=cart (that can be tilted)', go back to OE* *cupe*:

DAR:

coupewaynes 1338, 200; 1343, 205 (2); *coupecart* 1338, 200; 1343, 205; *ij coupes pro marlera* 1344, 379; *j coupe pro feno et marler* . . . c. 1350, 381; *cowpe(nalys)* 1461, 153.

FP:

j coupe bodi 1360; *ij couppes pro fimo extrahendo* 1363; *j coupbody* 1367; *Uno coupwayn* 1402—3; *j cowpewayn, ij cupwanys* 1465.

NED, s. v. *Coup, coop* sb.²: Perhaps the same as *coop* sb.¹, formerly *coupe, coup*, 'a basket'. The connexion of these words with OE *cupe* cannot be doubted. In Germany, as is pointed out by Hildebrand (in Grimm), *kiepe*, prop. a basket, is also applied in Saxony to a chest or box, and to a box=cart (NED). The same application also occurs in Swed. dial. [*diykorg*] 'a dung=cart, loosely applied to a sled'. *wayn*, (*cart*) was added by way of explanatory complement.

Ellis's transverse line 6, denoting the southern limit of the pron. of the word *house* as [hūs], and, also, the northern limit of the pron. of *house* as any variety of [haus], runs through sCum, nLan, sWm, wYks, and nLin (see p. 19 and map). In our dialect districts then, the diphthongization of /ū/ has not taken place. It is true that Ellis records, for 31⁶, both [ū] and a transitional sound from [u] to [au] (pp. 636—7 and 566), but this latter must be rather a recent phenomenon. It is described thus: 'The present sounds are [uu] sounds, but begin with some undefined sound which JGG [an informant of Ellis's] could not appreciate after some days of observation. The result is like uu, əu, transitional from [uu] to [a'u].' In the classified word-list, this vowel is palaeotyped [ɛūu], except in the case of *room* [rəūm]. The same vowel occurs, moreover, in the following words with original $\bar{o}$: *shoe, bloom, brood, tool, floor, moor, sooth*; further in *fowl, sow* 'a pig,' and perhap in *door* (see Ch. VII and IX). The diphthong [ə'u], expressly said to be different from the prec., is found in: *bow* (OE *boza*), *to hope, gold* [gəuld], *mold* (earth) [məud], *bough* [bə'u], *wool* [wə'u], *sound* (in health), *wound* sb., *through* [θrə'u], and prob. *door*. The nDur pron. of *u* is also slightly diphthongized: [ɥu], but it greatly resembles (óu); in written accounts, however, this sound is not distinguished from [uu], in fact the natives consider it as such. Ellis, *o.c.*, pp. 638, 640.

With regard to the [ɛuu, ɥu] pronunciations we may safely lay hold of Ellis's suggestion and take them to imply a vernacular diphthongization in its beginning. Some of the [əu] pronunciations are adoptions from StE which have been subsequently modified according to dialectal sound-laws, others are clearly genuine (*bow, hope, wool, mold*). It is certain, at any rate, that no perceptible change of /ū/ took place as early as the date of our texts.

We shall now proceed to deal with the different sym-

bols used for this sound by our scribes. The various spellings—should they prove to have been governed, in the main at least, by intentional rules—will serve as a reliable basis for our attempts at settling the actual value of OE $\bar{o}$ as represented in our texts, and of the *o*-vowel of the StE loan-words containing the equivalent of OE $\bar{a}$ (see p. 35).

At the beginning of the period we find, as was to be expected, the OE *u* still in use: *Cuper* 1300, *cluttis* 1310, *-clutis* 1334, *-muth* 1324, *suth* 1338—43. Already at this time, however, forms with the F spelling *ou* are found interspersed among the original ones, and from about the middle of the 14th century the scribes for more than fifty years employ *ou*, *ow* exclusively. Soon after 1400, the *u*-spellings crop up again and are incidentally met with afterwards, together with the normal symbols *ou*, *ow*: *Suterpeth* 1428 (the same scribe has *Sowter-* 1429), *scurryng* 1458; *cupwanys* FP 1465; *lukkyng* DAR 1491; *spute* 1512; *curse*, *curthowsse* HoB; *clurres* DAR 1541. It must be remarked here that *trutis* FP 1388 may be the abl. case of L. *trutta* or else its *u* may be due to influence from this word. The other FP forms in *u* from the *ou*-period: *Murehusfeld* 1376, *Fordhuss* 1394 are not instances to the point either, their vowel being / $\bar{u}$ / on account of shortening in weak-stressed position (cf. below). Among the late *u*-spellings there may also be some shortened forms. The discarding of *u*, during the latter half of the 14th c., as a symbol for / $\bar{u}$ /, (which, as far as our investigations go, has been found to be universal) will be treated in connexion with the history of OE $\bar{o}$.

Along with these normal spellings there are others calling for special attention. The word *clout* when the last member in compounds is sometimes written *-clot(e)* DAR 1376—83 (3), *-clots* FP 1397, and, under the same conditions, *house* appears as *hosse* DAR 1516 (2). In these cases the vowel has been shortened owing to its position

in a weak-stressed syllable, and the result was a sound identical with /*ū*/, which would be normally rendered by *u* or *o* (cf. the *FP* spellings *-hus(s)* 1376 and 1394). It is true that there exists a ME *clot*, *clotte*, mod. *clot*, but it seems always to mean 'a lump, ball', a sense which does not fit here. Moreover, in the accounts from 1376—83, all belonging to the same scribe, there also occurs the unmistakable form *cloute*.

In the Dur correspondence in *CoP* /*ū*/ is always written *ou*, *ow*, a circumstance easily to be connected with the fact that these documents were written by the priors, who were, of course, less likely to deviate from traditional orthography.

VII.

eME *q̄*.

DAssR: *Kraukruke* (2) 1242, 59; *Krak[ruke]* 1242, 60
(*< crāwecrōk*).

in Mora 1242, 2; *Morehuse* 1242, 64 (OE *mōr*).

DAR:

(1) *< originally long q̄*:

le bludhous 1385, 265; *blodeyrn* 1401, 451.

landmalebok 1416, 614; *ij bagges for bokes* 1543, 722.

busys pro bobus 1461, 90. NED: OE **bōs*, corresponding to ON *bás-s*, a stall for a cow or a horse.

for dyghting of my Mr^s boites 1544, 723 (OF *bote*).

bothis 1357, 560; *le tolbothe* 1402, 216; *unius le boyth* 1536, 674. NED: ME *bōpe*, *bothe*, prob. a. ODa. **bōð*. mod. Da. and. Sw. *bod*.

brodgeys 1404, 398 (*< OE brōd*) 'brooding-geese'.

Cokepage c. 1358, 561; *J. Coik* 1384, 336; *J. Cooke*

1449, 238, 239 (2); *J. Cuke* 1465, 91; *W. Coke* 1472, 413; *E. Cuke* 1497, 250 (< OE *cōk*).

crokes c. 1320, 514; 1347, 546; *crukkis* 1372, 211; *croke*, *crok*, *cruk*, 2 *crukis*, *fleshcruk* 1404, 396—8; *R. Crokebane* 1420, 350; *j crooke* 1448, 186; *crokez*, *Brerecroke*, *fleshcroke*, *shepcroke* 1479—81, 96—8; *breercrukez* 1498, 655. NED: 'app. a. ON *krókr*'.

Culyng(ledes) 1492, 652; 1498, 656; 1506, 658; 1517, 294 (3) (< OE *cōlian*, NED).

flodyates 1333, 525; *Flotyate* 1471, 93; *flodgate*, *flote-gate* 1472—7, 94, 95; *flodegaite* 1505, 103.

flur 1450, 240: *le floryng* 1456, 241 (< OE *flōr*).

fotmale 1348, 549; *Lightfoit* pers. n. 1384, 595; *1 fot ax* 1404, 396; *le futebrace* 'foot-brass', 'the brass socket in which the mill spindle works' 1503, 657; *1 futroppe* 1507, 659; *lez fott Brassys* 1509, 661: *xx^{ti} fout*, *fut* 1545, 727.

7 fothres plumbi 1371, 577; *19 futhers* 1375, 583; *4 futhers* 1376, 585; *futher* *ibid.*; *fothyr* 1404, 396; *j fuder* 1456, 277; *8 fothyr*, *2 fothre* 1459, 88; *j fothre* 1476, 95 (2); *fudr. plumbi* 1487—8, 650 (3) etc. (< OE *fōðer*).

J. Glovere 1441, 410 (< OE *zlōf*).

godeshous 1377, 387 'goods-house'.

1 Goshauk 1378, 588 (< OE *ʒōshafuc*); *goyshous* 1474, 95; *le Gowsehouse* 1516, 106.

Hukshaue 1349, 551; *wedhokis* 1404, 398; *wedhukez* 1454, 150 (< OE *hūc*).

Hupis 1349, 550; *huppe* 1511, 291 (< OE *hōp*).

le Hope place-name 1439, 626.

NED: *Hope* sb^a: '(1) a piece of enclosed land, e. g. in the midst of fens or marshes (2) a small enclosed valley, the upland part of a mountain valley, a blind valley. Chiefly in south of Scotland and north-east of England, where it enters largely into local nomenclature, as in *Hope-kirk*, *Hopetoun*, *Hopehead*, *Dryhope*, *Greenhope*, *Ramshope*, *Ridless Hope*, etc. [cf. *Rokehope*, *Stanhope* DAR] (3) an inlet, small bay, haven. —OE *hop* app. recorded only in combination (e. g. *fenhop*, *mórhop*: see sense 1). It is doubtful whether all the senses belong orig. to one

word. With sense 3 cf. ON *hóp* 'a small land-locked bay or inlet. . . ' (Vigfusson'). —

A Scotch 16th c. form *hoip* presupposes original $\bar{o}$. There is also a Sc. *houp* [*hūp*] from the 18th c., apparently a StE sound-translation of the Sc. equivalent of OE $\bar{o}$. The pres. pronunciations are: dial. [*(h)ōp*], Sc. also [*hop*], standard [*houp*]. Whatever may be the origin of the word, it is evident that it occurred, at the start, in two forms: [*hōp*] when simple, [*hop*] when in compounds. The first of these forms is not normally represented in mod. speech. Its vowel has been checked in its development through the adjusting influence of the frequent compound variant [*hop*]. ¹⁾ See *Rokehop* below.

-*mor* in place-names 1292?, 490 etc.; *morkokes*, *murkokes* 1329, 16; *morehennes* 1349, 42; *morehous* 1373, 579; *Moorhowse* 1431, 231; *Moorehouse* 1442, 712; *Queryngdonmour* 1444, 144; *Spenyngmour* 1452, 713 (< OE *mōr*).

Amotbrigs 1376—84, 336, see p. 20.

160 *Rodez* 1507, 660; *j Rude et di. Burdarum* 1507, 104; 1 *rudd de sawne bordes* 1517, 293; 5 *rudd meremii*, 4 *rud et di. bordarum* 1524, 297; *j d i. Rude meremii* 1534, 111; 2 *rodes* 1536, 701 (< OE *rōd*).

pro seme et Rufe 1406, 606; *cum seme, rove* 1474, 645. NED: 'a burr for a nail': a. ON. *ró*, excrescent *v*. — For this *v*, cf. *snoove* Sc. 'to twirl' < OEScn **snoa*, Sw. *sno* = ON. and Icel. *snúa*.

Rynrofez 1422, 619; *roofe* 1449 239 (< OE *hrōf*).

Rokehop, *Rokopschele* 1338, 201; *Rukehop* 1339, 202 (3); *Rokhop* 1340, 203; *Rokehop* 1342, 204; *Rukhop* 1343, 204; *Rokopschele* 1403, 220; *Rokehopschell* 1441, 235 (2); *Rucopp* 1450, 240. 1st member is prob. from OE *hrōc* 'a rook', the *hop(e)* in question being a brooding place for these birds.

1) This would be an instance of what Jespersen styles "preservative analogy", MEG 1. 7. — By the way, why not take the word to be a dialectal application of *hōp*, mod. *hoop*, subsequently taken over into literary speech with a spelling-pronunciation?

scope 1362? 566; *scopez* 1443, 713; *scupis* 1507, 660 'scoop'. Skeat, EtD., assumes adoption from OF: *escope* < Scn *skōpa*. Cf. Björkman p. 129. Note its local distribution: Lan., Chs., Der., Not., Lin., Wor. (EDD).

de tenentibus et socmannis c. 1357? 558; Gl.: 'sokemen, i. e. men who hold land on condition of fixed and determinate services, especially that of suit to the court of the lord of the manor'. — EtD: *Soke* (AS *sōc*) is the exercise of judicial power; *sōc* strong grade of *sacan* 'to contend.'

Sponayl c. 1310, 511: *Spone* 1316, 514; *Sponail* 1328, 515; 300 *Sponbrod*, 2 *M de spone* 1341, 543; *spone* 1356, 558; 2 *mill. spons* c. 1357?, 560; *sponbrod* 1361, 127; OE *spōn* 'a chip, splinter of wood'; here 'shingle'. The word occurs also in the sense 'spoon': *In 4 ulnis Canabi pro Poketis ad spōs empt.*, 12 d. 1313, 512.

studmer 1404, 399 (< OE *stōd*).

nailtoll 1338, 376; *j naylletole* 1345, 380; *nayltulle* 1349, 376 footnote; *naytole* 1350, 381 (< OE *tōl*).

(2) < *ō* before lengthening cons. groups:

bordis de Estland 1338, 376; *estlandbord* 1371, 578; *estlandburd* 1374, 180; 44 *Estland burde*, 1 *burdcloth* 1404, 396, 398; *bordcloths* 1412, 610; *fyrreboordez* 1447, 237; *borde clogge* 1466, 91; *dressyngburdez* 1480, 97; *boyrdnailles* 1505, 103; *Burdarum* 1507, 104; *bordez* (2), *bordis*, *bording*, *borddyng* 1512, 105—6; *dressyngborddes* 1516, 106; *sawne bordes* 1517, 293; *a hundreth brod naylles*; *D brode naylles* 1541, 722; *bourdewages* 1543, 722; *bourdnayll* 1544, 726; *sownd boord* (of an organ) 1589, 733.

Thomam Furde, *Th. Forde* 1443, 411.

befor my going furth 1544, 722.

FP:

(1) < original *ō*.

ij brodgees 1411 — *J. Couke* 1439 — *iiij cuylyngleyds*; *j culyngfatt* 1465.

iij cruks 1397; *j flescroyk* 1465; *crokez* 1481—2; *crowkis* 1482—3, *piscaria de Croke*, the constant form until 1457—8, when it is written *Cruke*; 1510—11: *Crowke*.

j fuytsomez, *futsomys* 1465.

fothre, the usual form; *x futhrez* 1484—5; *vj fodrez* 1486—7; 27 *fodres* 1488—9.

R. Goys pers. n. 1462—3. — *j pothuk* 1397; *v weydhukys* 1465.

viiij hupis 1465; *j spyndyll hwppys* 1466—7; *le hope* 1481—2.

del Mour 1366—7, *Morhousfeld* 1375—6 and earlier; *Murehusfeld* 1376—7; *Mourhousfeld* 1397—8; *Morehousfeld* 1398—9; *Moorhouscloose*, *R. Moore* 1439.

xxx rods fossati 1460—1; *ij roddis* 1528—9.

ij nayltolis, *j noyltoyl* 1465.

(2) < *o* before *r* + *d*.

bordcloths 1397; *estlandburds* 1407—8.

Forthousegarthis 1435—6; *Furthouse garthis* 1436—7.

WR: *W. Cuke* 1327, 234.

CoP:

a bouke 'book' 1441, 121.

done 1414, 87; *doos* 3 pl. 1440, 116; *doon* 1441, 120, 123, etc.; *doose* 3 pl. 1441, 120, 123; *dose* 3 sg. 1442, 138; *doon* 1442, 146; *he has a doo* inf. 1446, 158. The regular inf. form is *do*.

gode 1440, 114; *good* *ibid.*; *goode* 1440, 116; *goodez* 1441, 118; *gude* 1442, 132; *good* *ibid.*; *good* 1444, 153; *goode frennds* 1446, 158.

behovfull 1442, 117 (OE *behōf* 'advantage').

grett loose 'loss' 1441, 122; 1442, 127; *grete lossez* 1463, 191.

Moneth 1429, 104.

other 1440, 114, etc.

son 'soon' 1440, 114; *soon* 1442, 136; *souner* 1456, 183.

he stode 1447, 161; *he stode bailya* 1449, 165.

HoB:

(1) < orig. $\bar{o}$:

fyssykbuk 1; 2 *sophysteyrye books* 245.

R. Boyth pers. n. 31; *W. Cuk* pers. n. 34; *croykks*, *cruks* 73; *Lytfoyte* pers. n. 67.

1 rutgoys 337. *rut* of obscure origin, see NED s. v. *Rout* sb⁷, with references.

W. Morefelde pers. n. 73

porta vocata Park-newk 159; *Buerpark-newk* 261 (< ME *nōk* a corner, Lowl. Sc. *neuk* etc.).

ure plumbi 47, *le uyre* *ibid.*, etc. (OE *ora*)

1 rod, *1¹/₂ rod*, 80 etc.

5 scopys 88; *le scopps* *ibid.*, 4 *scopis*, *le skopps* 185.

spoyns 'spoons' 229.

le toythyll (2) 181; Skeat derives this word from OE *tūtian* 'to stick out', Holthausen (s. v. *tout*) conjectures an OE * *tūtian*.

(2) < *o/r* + *d*:

23 fyrbords 58; *bordnayle* (2), *burdnayle* (2) 72; *le broydclothez* 157.

Under this heading may also be given the forms of OE *sceōh* (Bülbring, § 302) recorded in our texts. It should be noticed that the sg. of this word must have been comparatively rare. In the majority of cases, therefore, we have to start from the OE pl. *sceós* (Sievers § 242, 2), later *sceōn*. This is confirmed by the spellings in our texts, which in no way suggest that the spirant either affected the vowel or was retained in any form. Nor are any traces of it to be seen in the mod. dialect forms concerned in this connexion. According to Wright, EDG § 167, the

spirant has remained, as [f], only in Lan., Chs., ne & nwDer.

DAR: *plushone* (2), *plushous* 1377—83, 386—9; *ploghschoue* 1405, 222; *horseschonayle* 1415, 406; *plowshon* 1434, 232; *horsheshoing* (2), *horseshoing*, (*passim*); *shewes* 1544, 722—5.

FP: *plowshone* 1427—8; *plowschoyn*, *schoyd schoyll* 1465.

JR: *plugh schon* 1348, 33.

WR: *plughshon* 1361, 157; *plughschoue* 1362, 158.

(1) Dialectal development.

(a) $\bar{q} > /y/$.

The history of the development of early ME $\bar{q}$ in ME and NE dialects involves a series of intricate problems. They have been thoroughly dealt with by Luick, in §§ 106 ff. of his *Unters.*, the main basis of which is the existing phonology of the living dialects. The general characteristics of this development are summed up as follows (§ 122): 'Es ergibt sich also, dass, abgesehen von wenigen noch nicht aufgeklärten Fällen, die heutigen Entsprechungen des ME $\bar{q}$ auf zwei frühne. Grundformen zurückgehen: einerseits $\bar{u}$, welches bis zum Humber und auch im südwestlichen teil des Nordens bis zur Querlinie 6 [Ellis's *hooe* line, see p. 83] herrschte, und andererseits $\bar{ü}$, nordwärts davon'. In *Gramm.*, § 406, Luick gives a concise account of the specific Northern development: 'Auf dem nordh. Gebiet, und zwar zu Ende des 13. Jahrhunderts (sicher nach der Dehnung des $\bar{u}$), wurde $\bar{q}$ in einen Laut umgebildet, dessen ursprüngliche Qualität nicht genau zu ermitteln ist, der aber jedenfalls einen $\bar{ü}$ -artigen Klang hatte oder bald erlangte, so dass er zur Wiedergabe des u in franz. Lehnwörtern dienen konnte und im 16. Jahrhundert deutlich als $\bar{ü}$ beschrieben wird.'

Now we turn to our material. First we remember that u as a symbol for OE $\bar{u}$ went out of use early, being replaced by *ou*, *ow*, which latter symbols were solely used

till after 1400 (first instance *Suterpeth* 1428), whereas *u* during this period is the characteristic spelling for the equivalent of $\bar{q}$, if the original *o* is not retained (we leave out of consideration here the secondary spellings *oy*, *oi uy*): — *DAR*: *murkokes* 1329; *Rukehop* 1339; *hupis*, *hukshaue*, *nayltulle* 1349; *crukkis* 1372, *-burd* 1374; *futhers* 1375; *bludhous* 1385; *cruk* 1404; *studmer* 1404; *rufe* 'a burr' 1406; *FP*: *Murehusfeld* 1376; *cruks*, *huk* 1397; *burds* 1407; *WR*: *Cuke* 1327.

The date of the earliest spellings proves that the change was clearly perceptible by the time our records begin, and the sharp distinction kept up in the orthography of the 14th cent. between *ou* = $[\bar{u}]$ and *u* for $\bar{q}$ helps us to understand that the quality of modified old $\bar{q}$ must have been strikingly peculiar. In Mawer's material (*Place-names*) I find a still earlier instance of *u* for $\bar{q}$, the place-name *Brumley* 1255 (Nhbl. Assize Rolls), OE *brōm-lēze* (< *lēh*). It is true that the vowel may have been shortened in this word and that this would have accelerated the change, but it proves, at any rate, that the tendency was alive at that date. A little later, however, in a charter signed by Bishop Robert of Durham, soon after 1274, occurs *Balnesheuge FP*, p. 110 (< OE *hōh*). The conventional form of this type (see under $\bar{q}h$, below) is *hogh(e)*, and *heuge* evidently represents an attempt at expressing the new sound by means of the French digraph *eu* (= $[\bar{u}]$). In spite of the scanty evidence we may infer that the change $\bar{q} > \bar{u}$ had advanced very far as early as the latter half of the 13th century.

A hint as to the new vowel is perhaps also to be gathered from the development of the eME combination $\varepsilon\bar{q}3\varepsilon$, as in *plq3es*. The details of this will be entered upon in a special section below. The different stages where these: $\bar{q}3 > \bar{q}w > yu > yu > iu$. In *CoP* 1429 we find for the first time the spelling *plewes*. The value of *ew* had been

/iu/ from the 13th cent. at least (cf. Luick, Gramm. § 399), and hence there can be no doubt that $\bar{q}u$ had become /iu/, or at any rate nearly so, by the beginning of the 15th century. It would, however, be too rash to conclude from this that $\bar{q}$ when single had a quite parallel development as regards quality and chronology, seeing that the long established /iu/ is likely to have exercised an attractive influence on /yu/.

(b) *Orthography.* — $|\bar{y}| > iu/$.

The well-known digraphs *oi*, *oy*, *uy* for $\bar{q}$ appear also in our texts, although not very frequently. According to Luick this spelling is analogous to *ai*, *ei* for orig. $\bar{a}$, $\bar{e}$, and is supposed to have come into use after *oi*, *ui* were monophthongized (as in *vōce*, *rejōse*, *chōse*, *vōde*, *closter*, *jōne*, *jāne*, *junt*, *punt* — Gramm. § 434), because then they would be a convenient means of expressing vowel-length. When dealing with orthographical *ai*, *ei*, we found this explanation unsatisfactory, and it must be still more so in this case. The influence exercised by handful of French words must have been rather negative. Moreover, the monophthongizing seems to have been of a transitory and local nature.

Even if we cannot offer a fully evidenced explanation, we must briefly set down the facts. I find the first instance of *oy* in the F word *loyt* 'lute' (MF *lut*) DAR 1361, 127; then come *Coik*, *Lightfoit* pers. n. 1384. After that date *oy* does not appear again until 1462—3. In the period beginning with that year we find: *R. Goys* FP 1462—3, *flescroyk*, *noyltoyl*, *plowschoyn*, *schoyd*, *cuylyngleyds*, *fuyt-somez* 1465, *goyshous* DAR 1474, *boyrdnailles* 1505, *R. Boyth*, *croykks*, *Lytfoyte*, *rutgoys*, *spoyns*, *toythyll*, *broydclothez*, *uyre* HoB 1530—4, *boyth* DAR 1536, *boites* 1544. Of $\bar{q} < eME \bar{u}$ the following spellings in *oy*, *uy* occur: *duyr* (3), *A. Spoyr*, *stoys*, *stoithez*, *stoythez* HoB; *qerdoyr*, *stuyz*

thes DAR 1541. This makes 2 spellings from 1384 and 28 from 1462 downwards. The contrast with the use of the *ai*, *ei*-spellings for *ā* — *e*, *e* resp. will be obvious if we mention that these occur each some 50 times at least, and yet the total number of *ō*-words recorded is approximately as large as that of either of these groups. Further, *ai*, *ei* are uninterruptedly represented from the end of the 14th cent. onwards. Under such circumstances it will be advisable to treat the *oi*-spelling as a separate phenomenon. The 14th cent. *oi*-forms are to be kept apart from those of the later period, as being distinctively occasional, perhaps only attempts at marking off the words as proper names. They might be compared with the early stratum of *ei*-spellings mentioned on p. 58, and they imply, of course, that the pron. of orig. *oi* bore some resemblance to that of orig. *ō*. The *oy*, *uy* of the later period are contemporary with the Sc. *ui*, *oi* (Luick, Gramm. § 406: 'vom Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts'). They never became quite familiar to the Durham scribes and strike one as being mere imitations of standard Scotch orthography. It is almost a certainty that they were misinterpreted by the *HoB* scribe and were meant by him to denote /u/. As distinguished from *ai*, *ei*, they do not seem to have served any practical purpose in the Dur dialect. If this be so, the use of *oi*, *ui* will have to be looked upon as a specific Sc. peculiarity. Now I think this will give a key to the whole problem. We know that the /*ū*/ of the 14th cent. was broken to [iu, ju] in nDur and to [iə] in sDur, while in Scotland it generally appears as an [i]-vowel, long or short (sometimes /*ī*/ is retained). We have Durham spellings from the first half of the 16th cent. indicating this modification of /*ū*/, and the Sc. modification is likely to have taken place at least as early as in Durham. We are able, then, to establish a direct connexion between the modification of the sound and the appearance of the new symbol. It seems

perfectly clear that *i* in *ui*, *oi* was intended to suggest the *i*-quality of the vowel. It is obvious that the definite adoption of this digraph, when once justified by a change in pronunciation, was strongly promoted by the firmly established use of digraphs for the other long vowels (*ai* for old *ā*, *ei* for old *ē*; *ou* for *ū*).

In his description of the seNhb or Pitman's dial. (32¹, closely allied to 32² = nDur), Ellis mentions, as the classical work in this dialect, Thomas Wilson's *Pitman's Pay*, a cheap edition of which, with other poems, was published in 1872 by Routledge, London. This work has set the norm for spelling, which, however, is rather confusing to a Southerner (p. 639). The treatment of *ō* in this district varies as [*iu*, *īə*, *ɪv*], and it is written *ui* in Wilson's book. This can be nothing but an artificial continuation or revival of Scotch usage.

The forms taken to indicate the new pron. /*iu*/ < *ij* are *newk* (2) *HoB* (1530) and *shewes* *DAR* 1544. There are examples, it is true, of *ew* being used incorrectly for /*iu*/: *Ewshow*, *Hewshaw* *DAR* 1536; *lewkyng* *HoB* (OE *lūcan*), prob. also *Ews* 'the Ouse' *DAR* 1532, but it seems likely that the regular value of *ew* would be continually asserting itself, being supported by such common words as *new*, *brew*, *true*, *truth*, *flew*, *drew*, *slew*, *grew*, all of which still have /*iu*/-pronunciations in Durham, and further by the type *plew(es)*. In this period we find forms in *ew*, *eu* of OE *hōh* also: *Sheleheughe*, *-ew-* *HoB*. Here the pron. /*iu*/ is absolutely warranted, although its origin may be another than in *newk* etc. (see below). We shall find it probable, however, that it is really a development of the type *hōh* (not *hōuh*). Admittedly the evidence adduced is not in itself conclusive, but on the other hand I see no reason why we should disbelieve the testimony of the *ew*-spellings of *nook* and *shoe*.

(2) The Standard English element.

(a) *The language of the texts.*

In the latter half of the 14th cent. there begin to appear unmistakable received forms in /u/, written *ou*, *oo*, by the side of the dialectal ones. Here follows a complete list of these forms:

DAR: *plushous* 1382, *ploghschoue* 1405, *Moorhouse* 1431, 1442, *Queryngdonmour* 1444, *fyrreboordez* 1447, *crooke* 1448, *roofe* 'roof', *Cooke* 1449, *Spenyngmour* 1452, *Gowsehouse* 1516, *bourdewages* 1543, *bourdnayll* 1544, *fout* (~*fut*) 1545, *sownd boord* 1589.

FP: *Mour* 1366 *Mourhousfeld* 1397, *Moorhouscloose*, *R. Moore*, *J. Cooke* 1439, *hwppys* 1466, *crowkis* 1482, *Crowke* place-name 1510.

WR: *plughschoue* 1362.

CoP: *doos* 1440 etc., *good* 1440 etc., *bouke* 1441, *doon* 1441 etc., *loose* 'loss' 1441, *soon* 1442, *doo* 1446, *stoode* 1449, *souner* 1456.

HoB: *books*.

The influence of received speech must not be estimated by these spellings alone. The reappearance, in the beginning of the 15th cent., of *u* for /ū/ (*Suter* — 1428, *cupwanys* 1465 etc., see p. 84) must be due to the fact that so many /ū/- pronunciations of old *q̄*-words began to be used that the characteristic spelling of these latter came to have the value of /ū/. Hence we may be sure that in this period we shall have a number of standard pronunciations disguised under *u*-forms. On p. 39 attention was called to some *oy*-spellings of adopted StE *ā*-words (*boyt*-etc.), and in interpreting these *oy* was taken to imply /ū/. It is easy to understand that *oy* would assume this value from being used in standardized *q̄*-words, as did *u*, *o*, and it would do so the more readily as it was late in coming into use and presumably occupied no established position

in Durham orthography. The same explanation will also apply to the irregular use of *ew* for /ū/ just mentioned.

This confusion in orthography proves that the StE influence on the language of the scribes had a radical effect. The truth of this observation is borne out still more clearly by the fact that even vernacular forms of proper names were discarded for their corresponding standard forms. Examples: *moor*, *mour* in place-names; *Crowke* a fishing-place on the Tyne; *Cooke*, *Couke*, *Moore* pers. n. It is interesting to note, by way of comparison, that in the case of the *ā*-words the standard speech did not remove the genuine forms of proper names, such as *Rayper* (but *the Roper*), *Baytman* (: *bote*), *Staynton*, *Braydshaw*.

All this goes to prove that in the course of the 15th cent. the North. type of old *o* became quite unfamiliar to the people of the Abbey of Durham and the Priory of Finchale.

(b) *The modern dialects.*

To arrive at a true understanding of the influence of StE on the dialect proper, it will be necessary to resort to accounts bearing on the modern dialects. The following lists are compiled from Wright's EDG; a few pronunciations not given by Wright have been supplied from Ellis (districts 32² (=nDur) and 31⁶ (=sDur).

North Durham. Out of 35 pronunciations the following are due to StE influence.: *ʃū* 'shoe', *muə(r)* 'moor', *buəd*, *bōed*, *bōd* 'board', *kruk*, *krūk* 'crook', *fut* 'foot', *dun* 'done', *gud* 'good', *blum*, *blūm* 'bloom', *floə(r)* 'floor', *brūd* 'brood', *muðə(r)* (Ellis) 'mother', *uðə(r)* 'other', *mundə* 'Monday', *blud* (Ellis) 'blood', *brudə(r)* 'brother', *buzm* 'bosom', *brum*, *brūm* 'broom' the plant, *flud* 'flood', *gluv* 'glove', *fōd* 'ford', *munp* 'month', *kuəl*, *kūl* 'cool', *luk* 'look' = 23.

Done, *cool*, *look* appear with alternative genuine pronunciations [*diun*, *djun*; *kjul*; *liuk*].

Genuine pronunciations are given for: *boot* [iu, ju], *do* [div, di], *book* [iu, ju], *goose* [iu, ie], *cook* [iu, ju], *spoon* [iu], *soon* [iu, iə], *moon* [iu, ju], *took* [ju], *stool* [ju], *noon* [iu, ju], *soot* [iu] = 12.

South Durham. 33 pronunciations in all; the following have been adopted from StE: /*eu*, *məuə*(r), *gud*, *bləum* (Ellis), *tvul* 'tool', *fləūr* (Ellis), *sənp* (Ellis) 'sooth', *brənd* (Ellis), *mudə*(r), *mudə*(r), *tuddə*(r) (Ellis) 't'other', *mundə*, *blud*, *gluv*, *fōd* = 14.

Alternative dialectal forms in [iə] occur in the case of *bloom*, *tool*, *floor*, *blood*.

The following words have retained their vernacular forms in [iə]: *boot*, *broom*, *flood*, *do*, *done*, *book*, *cool*, *foot*, *spoon*, *soon*, *stood*, *moon*, *too*, *took*, *look*, *stool*, *noon*, *soot*, and *root*, [rɪt], (Ellis, no. 596) = 19.

Phonology of the loan-forms.

Different vowel-types: *ū*, *əu*, *vu*; *uə*, *əə*, *oə*, *ɔ*, *ō*; *u*. South Dur [əu, vu] is the same diphthong as that representing eME *ū*, mentioned under *ū*; in nDur the diphthongization is less advanced (l. c.), hence the adopted *ō*-words in this district are given with [ū].

The vowels *uə*, *əə*, *oə*, *ō*, *ṽ* may all (even *ṽ*) be internal developments of /*ū*/ before *rd* (see under *ū*).

The short [u] corresponds to an older /*u*/. Luick, Unters. § 124, thinks that this [u] is due to early shortening of the unrounded variety of /*ū*/, supposed to have formed a transitional stage of the dialectal development *ṽ* > *ȳ* ('ein von *ū* nicht weit entfernter Laut, so dass er nach der Verkürzung dem *ȳ* nahestand'). We are told, *ibid.*, that the same shortening process took place in Sc. diall. also, but here the results are *y*, *ö* (< *ȳ*). This means that in the Durham dialects the shortening set in at an early stage, whereas in Sc. the vowel was allowed to run through a full development to /*ȳ*/ before the shortening tendency made

itself felt. Such an assumption seems improbable in itself, and it is not necessary for the explanation of the *ū*-forms. Their origin from StE is all but warranted by the fact that most of them are met with in the north. district, where StE influence is known to have asserted itself far more successfully than in sDur (16 to 6). If they were of internal growth, we should expect them to be fairly equally distributed over the two districts. It is a remarkable fact that the Sc. shortening of /*y*/ has practically no analogue in the Dur diall.; I have found it only in *root*, sDur [*rɪt*].

In the list of old *ū*-forms there are some words which have genuine pronunciations in the present nDur dial.: *cook*, *goose*, *do*, *book*, *soon* (*roof*, *hoop*, *stood* are not recorded by Wright). This is not surprising in view of the observations made above in regard to the language of the scribes.

(3) OE *ō* / 3, *h*.

DAR:

ploughswaynlandes c.1357? 558 (< OWScn **plógsveinn*, presumably = *plógkarl* 'a ploughman', Lindkvist p. lxi); *plueclot*, *plushone* (2), *plushous*, *plughirins* 1376—83, 386—9; *plowghclowtes* 1390, 213; *plogherbandis*, 2 *plogh patty* 1404, 398—9; *ploghschoue* 1405, 222; *plowshon* 1434, 232. OWScn *plógr*, see Björkman p. 251 with references, 'possibly Scn'; Jespersen 3.46, 'Scn'; Skeat, EtD, derives it from OE *plōh*, as also the NED: late OE *plōh* (*plō̄z*).

FP:

plowshone 1427; *ij plewys*, *ij plewbands*; *iiij plowys*, *iiij plowbands*, *iiij plowschoyn* 1465.

JR: *plugh schon* 1348, 33; *plohtimbir* 1368, 51.

WR: *plughshon* 1361, 157; *plughschoue*, *plughirenes* 1362, 158; *plowghyrynes*, *-yrens* 1370, 164; 1378, 172; *iiij pluys* 1505, 228.

WCorr: *plewys* c. 1447, 242; *plows* c. 1447, 242 (another copy).

CoP: *plewes* 1429, 104.

In ME there were numerous place-names containing OWScn *haugr* (OSw. *högher*, etc.) 'a hill, mound, cairn', in forms such as *hogh*, *hough*, *howe*, *hou*, etc. They coincide in spelling with contemporary forms of OE *hōh* (*hō*) 'heel,' ME *hoȝe*, *howe*, *how* (< OE *hōȝe*, dat. sg.) and — esp. in the North — *hogh*, *hough*, which latter word was also very frequent in place-names almost everywhere in Scn England. Having primarily meant 'heel', it was already in OE applied to 'a promontory, a projecting ridge of land, a height ending abruptly and steeply'. Lindkvist p. 137.

About four miles NW of Durham there is a place now called *Sacristonheugh*, pron. Seggerston=heuff, i. e. [*hiuf*]. It was formerly an estate held by the sacrist of the Abbey for the support of the special burdens of his office. Some small portions of the medieval house are yet remaining, and we are told also that it is built on the crest of an almost precipitous hill (see *Intro.* to the *DAR*, p. XV). Of this name we find in *DAR* the form *Segreystenhowe* 1318 (further examples below).

The same suffix enters into

ad montem qui vocatur Stayrhov *DAssR* 1235, 162, *Tudhou* 1242, 39, *Corneshou* 1242, 70 (see below).

Balnesheuge *FP*, soon after 1274, 110.

Schafthowe *DAR* 1353 (in the same entry *le Hogh*).

Shel(e)hough (2), *Sheleheughe*, *Sheyleheughe*, *Sheylehewghe*, *Sheylhewhe* etc. (7) *HoB* (1530—4).

In *DAR* the simplex is generally substituted for the full name *Seggerstonheugh*: *le How* 1299; *le Hogh* (6) 1322—1404; *le Hough*, the standard form for the period 1338—1413 (but *le Heugh* 1348, 380 and *le Houk* 1397); *le Hugh* (4) 1439—85, but *le Houghth*, *Hought*, *Houyth* (2) 1442, 81.

For the following supplementary material I am indebted to Mawer.

Hough 1276, *le Hogh* 1298, *le Hugh* 1346, *le Hough* 1382, 1411, *Heugh*, *Hugh* 1628; now *Heugh* [hjuʃ] (in Esh).

Cornesho, *Cornshowe* 1154–95, *Cornesough*, *Cornesowe* 1312, *Cornsew* 1547 (*Cornsay* in Lanchester).

Kyhou c. 1200, *Kyhow* c. 1240, *Kyowe* 1382, now *Kyo* (in Lanchester), < cȳ-hōze.

Redhoghe 1290, *Le Redehouef* 1290, now *Redheugh* (Gateshead).

Reshon (sic!) 1268, *Revehou* 1277, now *Rivergreen* (in Meldon).

Segrysteynhogh 1312; *Sackerston Heughe* 1577; *Segerstonhough* 1637.

Sandho 1225, 1232, *Sandhou* 1328, *Sadow* 1479, now *Sandoe* [sanda] in St John Lee.

Swinhou c. 1250, *Swyneho* 1280, *Swynowe* 1315, now *Swinhoe* in Bamburgh.

Cattechlow 1279, now *Catcleugh* in Elsdon. The second member is from OE *clōh 'ravine or valley with steep sides'. It enters, moreover into *Oxclow* 1279, now *Oxcleugh* (Chirdon), *Strikeliscloyche* 1279, now *Stirkscleugh* (Hesley-side), and *Farinclou* c. 1250, *Farneclogh* 1398, *Farnycleugh* 1586 (Redesdale, not found on the modern map).

OE *hōh* forms the first member of the following place-names: *Hoctona* 1200, *Hochton* 1279, *Howton* 1281, *Houghton* 1307, *Hoghton* c. 1325, *Houghton* 1663; possibly also of *Hocchale* 1226, *Howhal(e)* 1291, *Hochale* 1342, *Houghalle* 1539, *Hoghall* 1446 (now *Houghall* [hɒfəl] Durham).

As is pointed out by Lindkvist, l. c., it is impossible to determine from a phonological point of view whether we have the OE or the Scn word before us. If it proves possible, after all, to keep up a distinction in meaning between the two words, topographical reasons are, in the case of (*Sacriston*)*heugh*, in favour of a native origin.

In *Studien*, pp. 165—182, Luick has laid down the lines of development followed by OE $\bar{a}3$, $\bar{o}h$ on Northern territory. The results of his inquiry, arrived at by comparing the ME spellings with their corresponding forms in the living dialects, are not to be disputed. The following discussion is therefore based on Luick's theories.

The OE guttural spirant 3 , when medial between vowels, became vocalized to u in ME. Thus the OE pl. $pl\bar{o}3as$ became ME $/pl\bar{o}u\bar{e}s/$. In the combination qu , the first element underwent its usual North. development via an u -sound to $/y/$, the result being $/yu/$. Now a diphthong the second element of which was $/u/$ had arisen from OE $\bar{ow}$, as, e. g., OE $tr\bar{e}ow > ME /tr\bar{e}u/ > /triu/$ (spelt *trew*). At this stage of the development the two diphthongs $/yu/$ and $/iu/$ have run together into one, probably $/iu/$. The original symbol for this sound being ew , it came also to be used for the now identical sound in $/pliu(e)s/$: *plewes*, *-ys*. The spelling *plowys*, originally corresponding to the phonetic form $/pl\bar{o}u\bar{e}s/$, could, of course, be traditionally used side by side with the new *plewys*. The type $/pliu/$ is the only one found in *FP*, *WCorr*, and *CoP*. *DAR* has one instance: *plowshon* 1434. The compounds *plowshon(e)*, *plowshoyn*, *plew-*, *plowbands* show that the phone of the plural, by way of generalization, had been carried over into the singular, the pron. of the word being sg. $/pliu/$, pl. $/pliu\bar{z}/$. As a matter of fact, this is the very form recorded by Ellis (p. 636) for 31⁶ (sDur): $[pli\bar{u}]$. Note that pure $/\bar{o}/$ is in this district $[i\bar{a}]$.

When final, the OE guttural 3 became the OE, ME voiceless spirant $/x/$. Thus the development of the OE sg. $pl\bar{o}h$ on North. territory would be this: OE $pl\bar{o}h > ME /pl\bar{o}x/ > . . . > /pl\bar{i}x/$. In this position the spirant would as a rule be retained. The original ME spelling, in this case, was *plogh*, which we should not expect to undergo

any other alteration than that caused by the change of the vowel, i. e. *o* might be displaced by *u*: *plugh* (= *pl̥ɣ̊χ̊*). We see that this development is to be found in the DAR forms: *plughirins* 1376, *plogh pattyl* 1404, *ploghschoue* 1405; further in all the forms from JR and WR, except *plowgh-* 1370, 1378, and *pluys* 1505. The ME final spirant */χ̊/* appearing as *[f]* in the Durham district and the mod. continuation in 31⁶ of ME *ō* being *[iə]*, the present equivalent of ME */pl̥ɣ̊χ̊/* would be *[pliəf]*, in 32² *[pl̥iuf]*. Ellis does not give this form for 31⁶ (cf. above), but the corresponding *[pl̥iəf]* is recorded (p. 528) for 30^{2a} (Danby (Yarm) in neYks, on the Tees), where *[iə]* is the regular equivalent of *ō*.

In regard to *plueclot*, *plushone*, *plushous* 1376 — 83, pron. *pl̥ɣ̊*/, the loss of the spirant may be due to the spirantless plural type */pliu/*, or, what is more probable, to the position of the spirant before a consonant. The treatment of the spirant in medial position in compounds may be illustrated by some spellings quoted from Mawer's collections.

(1) before cons.: *Hewarde* 1091, *Hewrth* c. 1125 (<*hēh-weorþ*); *Helay* 12th cent., *Heley* 1100—35, 1268, *Grenehelay* 1309, now *Healey* (*hēh-leze* (*lēh*)); *Hewic* c. 1100, now *Howick*; *Heburn* 1251, 1264, *Heborin* 1264, now *Hebron* (*hēh-burna*); *Heton* 1296, now *Heaton* (*hēh-tūn*); *Hoctona* 1200, *Hochton* 1279 (see above); *Ruely* 1296, *Ruthle* 1396, *Roghle* 1402, now *Roughley Wood* (OE *rūh*); further *Rughside* 1382, now *Roughside*; *Rughside* 1357, now *Roughside Moor*; *Ruley* 1226, *Rouley* 1295, *Roulye* 1479, now *Rowley*. In this name the inflected form *rūzan lēze* has at last superseded the uninflected type; similarly: *Ruhope* 1233, *Rughope* 1304, *Rowehoope* 1542, *Roeup* 1773, now *Rowhope*. Present *Ruchester* is an uninflected type, but in 1348 it has the inflected type *Rowchestre*.

(2) before vowels: *Hecham* 1289, now *Higham Dykes* (*hēh-ham* with *h* early dropped in *ham*); two forms from

the 13th cent. have the inflected type of the adjective: *Heyham*, *Heiham* (cf. *Heylaw* c. 1250); *Hocchale* 1226 etc., now *Houghall* [hɒfəl].

In group (1) the spirant was dropped regularly after the front vowel, but only occasionally after back vowels; there is no reason to doubt that the scribe of the accounts 1376—83 represented the actual pron. when he wrote *plueclot* etc., but *plughirins*. — Group (2) retains the spirant. Cf. *thofall* (2) 'though' *WCorr* c. 1447, 243.

The reduced type here considered seems to appear as a simplex in the *WR pluy*s 1505, but a *u* of that late date is not reliable and may stand for /ū/ (= StE).

We shall have to make a digression here with a view to ascertaining whether the living dialects show any traces of a spirantless singular type. Luick, o. c., p. 169, gives *bq̄*, *plq̄* (< OE *bōh*, *plōh*) for 31^{1a} (Ellis p. 622), 31^{2b} (p. 629), and 31³ (p. 632) as the ME ground-forms for the pres. pronunciations [biu, pliu]. On p. 171 we read the following words, apparently implying a reservation on the point in question: 'Wenn die Mundarten bloss die Entsprechung des einfachen *q̄* aufweisen (öfter in Nord-England), so ist das kein zwingender Hinweis auf mittellenglische Grundlagen wie **enq̄*, *bq̄*: es kann natürlich die Spirans erst in neuenglischer Zeit geschwunden sein, also doch me. *enōgh*, *bōgh* u. s. w. zu Grunde liegen'. Now it will be recognized, on a glance at the respective word-lists, ¹⁾ that the slightly diphthongized *ū*-forms in these as in many other Northern districts (so, e. g., 32²) represent old StE adoptions. In 31^{1a} we find the alternative forms [biu, pliu]; since, in this district, original *q̄* is [iu], the forms under notice might be from /*bq̄*, *plq̄*/, but they are better accounted for if placed on a par with the /*pliu*/-forms dealt with above: inflected type generalized (*truc*, No. 436, is [triu]). In [əniuf, tiuf] 31^{1a} we find the pure uninflected type. All

¹⁾ *q̄* is [iu] in 31^{1a} and 31³, [iu, iə, ia] in 31^{2b}.

the rest of the *ōh*-, *oɜ*- words in the three dialects go back to received pronunciations (31^{2b} and 31³ have no genuine forms preserved).

So far as evidence goes, then, the */pl̥j/**type has not persisted down to mod. times. It is distinctively occasional, perhaps only individual in origin, and was apt to be abandoned in careful speech. Such casual developments are characteristic of uncontrolled idioms. It should be noted that the spirant is kept, in spelling at least, in the corresponding instances *plogh patty* DAR 1404, *ploghshoue* 1405 and regularly in *WR*. This strengthens our suspicion that the late *pluys* ib. is not genuine.

The forms *plough*- 1357 and *plowghclowtes* 1390 stand for a pron. */plyuχ/*, formed by combining the spirant of the singular with the vocalism of the plural. The subsequent development of this form would be */pliuχ/* > *[pliuʃ]* (written *plewgh*, not found in our records), recorded by Ellis for 30^{2a,b} (Danby and Whitby in ne. Yks). This is also the process peculiar to Sc. dialects, see, e. g., Luick p. 174: 'Im Schottischen wird die vocalisation des urspr. Inlautes (*enew*) fast durchgehends verallgemeinert (*eneuch*)'. A good illustration of this levelling tendency is found in the rimes *pleugh* (: *laugh*, *eneugh*, *sheugh*) and *plew* (: *now*, *true*, *grew*) from Burns's *Death and Dr. Hornbook* (quoted by Jespersen, *MEG* 10.25). As likely as not, this type once existed in our dial. districts also, see the corresponding form of *hoh* below. An assumption of StE influence must be rejected in the case of the first instance at least, on account of its early date, whereas such an origin of the form from 1390 cannot be denied. The pres. dial. of 32² has *[plū]*, adopted from StE before the diphthongization.

To sum up, the different pronunciations suggested by the spellings as existing within our district in ME times are these:

<i>DAR:</i>	<i>plogh, plugh:</i>	pure uninflected type.
	<i>plu(e):</i>	reduced » »
	<i>plough, -ow-:</i>	mixed uninflected and inflected type.
	<i>plow:</i>	pure inflected type.
<i>FP:</i>	<i>plow, plew:</i>	pure inflected type.
	<i>plowys, -ew-:</i>	» » »
<i>JR:</i>	<i>plugh, ploh:</i>	pure uninflected type.
<i>WR:</i>	<i>plugh:</i>	» » »
	<i>plowgh:</i>	mixed type.
<i>WCorr:</i>	<i>plewys, plows:</i>	pure inflected type.
<i>CoP:</i>	<i>plewes:</i>	» » »

A striking feature in the development of the place-names containing *hōh* and *clōh* is the competition between the different types — inflected, uninflected, and mixed. The course of this process is very clearly indicated by the spellings. The original type is the inflected *-how(e)*, *-hov*, *-ow(e)*, *-ou*, *-o*; *-clou*, *chlow* (dat. sg.), which is used exclusively till the last quarter of the 13th cent. From that time it begins to be modified under the influence of the uninflected form and appears as *Hough* 1276, *Redehouef* 1290, *Cornesough* 1312 etc. About the same date we meet with the pure uninflected type for the first time: *Balnesheuge* c. 1274, *Strikeliscloyche* 1279, *Redhoghe* 1290, *le Hogh* 1298 etc., *le Hugh* 1346 etc. Now if we direct our attention to the *Heugh*-spellings in *DAR*, we shall be able to state that the inflected type was replaced by the mixed type about 1300, and that this type is decidedly predominant for more than a century, but is ousted at last by the pure uninflected type, which till then has appeared now and then by the side of *hough*. The mod. pron. [hjuʃ] represents the uninflected type. It cannot go back to the earlier *hough*-type, for this would have yielded nDur *[hiuf], just as nDur [əniuf] resulted from the earlier mixed type *enewgh* (see table below). There is an exact parallel to this in the southern district. In the NW

part of south Durham, nearly at the head of Weardale, there is a place called *Heathery Cleugh* [kliəf] (Ellis, p. 617). This is a clear uninflected type (< *clōh*), for in sDur [iə] is the equivalent of old *ō*, whereas old *ēu*, as in *true*, is [iu]. In Edenside (nWm and mCum), the dialect of which is closely allied to that of sDur (Ellis' D 31⁴ and 31⁶ resp.), we find [hiuf], older pron. [hiukwh], which is apparently an uninflected type, too, and [skiuf], sometimes older [skiukwh], for a number of place-names *Sceugh*, *Sceugh Dyke*, *Huddlesceugh* etc. from OScn *skógr* 'a wood' (from material quoted by Ellis, p. 606). Old *ō* is in this dial. [iu].

This development, more or less completely evidenced by spellings, has taken place also in the following compounds: *Shelekeughe*, *Sackerston Heugh*, *Redheugh*, and in those ending in *clōh*. The rest of the compounds display quite a different kind of development, inasmuch as here the mixed and uninflected types did not succeed in asserting themselves. *Cornsay* has a mixed type from 1312, but the original form keeps the field and even appears (in 1547) with the regularly developed form of the simplex, pron. [iu]. Later on the suffix is altered to *ay*. In the other names the suffix wore down, from obvious reasons, till it was no longer to be identified. Mod. *Swinhoe* represents a recent attempt at restoration; but *Revehou* has positively broken down. In EDD, *s. vv. heugh* and *how*, the inflected type *hew(e)* is said to survive, as an appellative, in some North. and Sc. dialects.

Some observations of chronological import have to be added. The vocalization of *ɜ* to *u* is completed by the time of our earliest spellings (c. 1200), and, judging from such spellings as *Cornesho* 1154—95, *Kyho* c. 1200, the *e*-apocope, too, is earlier than 1200. The phonetic development of [ōu] > [iu] in the inflected type is evidenced from the beginning of the 15th cent. (*plewes* above),

but we have no unmistakable corresponding spellings of the mixed type. The *HoB* forms =*heughe*, *hewghe*, etc. may represent the new pron. of the uninflected type, and the later =*eugh*-forms (1577, 1586, 1628, etc.) are still more likely to do so. As for the early *-heuge* 1274 and *le Heugh* 1348 we should lay hold of the fact that they did not lead to imitation; we conclude from this that they are to be looked upon as not quite successful attempts at rendering the new vowel of the uninflected type *hōgh*; *-cloyche* 1279 is a similar example (cf. *Coik* etc., p. 93). A spelling *clewch* from *clōh*, occurring in Barbour's *Bruce* (1375), evidently represents the new pron. of the mixed form *clowch*, but it does not follow that this pron. was used by the author. The MS dates from the latter half of the 15th century. It seems, however, as though the Durham and Nthb. orthography was somewhat conventional on this point.

In conclusion I subjoin a table summarizing modern types of the $\bar{o}h$, $\bar{o}3$ -words, as occurring in neYks (Ellis' D 30²), sDur (31⁶), nDur (32²), swNhb (32³), seNhb (32⁴). The material is from Ellis, and, when marked by Wr., from EDG.

neYks: pure uninflected type: *biəf* 'bough', *plɪəf* 'plough',
əniəf 'enough', *tiəf* 'tough';

Wr.: *biəf*, *əniəf*, *tiəf*.

» inflected » : *əniu*, Wr. *biu*.
 mixed » : *pliu*.

[Pure $\bar{o}$ is *ɪə*, rarely *iu*, as in *liuk* 'look', *biuk* 'book', *tiuk* 'took', $\tilde{e}u$ is *iu*: *triu* 'true', no. 436. Ellis. p. 528.]

sDur: pure uninflected type: *eniəf*, *tiəf*.

» inflected » : *pliu*.

' standard Engl. » : *bəu*, Wr. *bau*.

[$\bar{o}$ > *ɪə*; $\tilde{e}u$ > *iu*. Ellis p. 636.]

nDur: pure uninflected type: *iniəf*, Wr.

mixed » : *əniuf* (pl. and sg., *iu* different from *iu*, *ju*).

standard Engl. » : *plu*, Wr.: *bu*, *bau*.

[$\bar{o}$ < *iu*, *ju*, *iə*; Wr. *eu* > *iu*. Ellis, p. 673.]

swNhb: pure uninflected type: *pləf*, *enəf*, *təf*; Wr. *inif*, sNhb *iniəf*.

mixed » : Wr. *əniuf*, *tiuf*

standard Engl. » : *bū*; Wr. sNhb *bau*, *bou*.

[$\bar{o}$ > *iə*; Wr. *eu* > *iu*. Ellis, p. 676.]

seNhb: pure uninflected type: *ənɔf*, *tɔf*; Wr. *əniəf*, *tiəf*,

mixed » Wr. *əniuf*, *ənjuf*, *tjuf*.

standard Engl. » *bū*, *plū*.

[$\bar{u}$ > *ɔ*, Wr. *iə*; Wr. *eu* > *iu*. Ellis p. 676.]

VIII.

Scandinavian *ou*, *au*.

DAR:

Tho. Auneslay 1392, 349. In 1376, p. 585, the same name is written *Annesly* and 1388, 595 *Anneslay*. If the instance from 1392 is to be accepted as the true form of this place-name, the 1st member is the genitive of the OWScn man's name *Aun(n)*, see Lindkvist p. 156—7. 2nd member is ME *leye* < OE dat. sg. *leze* 'a meadow, pasture'.

Th. Copm' 1392, 341 (< OWScn *kaup-maðr*); *R. Copeland* 1424, 362 (< OWScn *kaupa-land* 'purchased land' Lindkvist p. 145. Mod. Dur dial. [*kop*, *kaup*, *koup*] EDD s. v. *cope*, *coup*).

M'gareta Nouthird 1375, 331 (< OWScn *naut*, ME *nowt*, *nowwt* Orm., *naute*, NE dial. *nowt*, Björkman p. 71). Mod. Dur dial. [*nout*], EDD s. v. *nowt*.

Rokpen 1292(?) 490. NED s. v. *Roke*: 'Prob. of Scn origin. The variants *roke*, *rawk*, *rowk* would normally arise from an OScn **rauk(r)*, which has been superseded by a form with umlaut (ON *reykr*, Sw. *rök*), 'smoke, steam, vapour'. — In 1351, p. 552, it is replaced by the native *Rekpenys* (< OMerc. *rīc*). Mod. Dur. dial. [*rōk*] *rawk*, [*rōk*] *roake*, [*rūk*] *rook*, EDD.

W. *Sourby* 1433, 305. '1st member is from OWScn *saurr*, ME *sowre*, *soore*, NE dial. *saur* (esp Yks), 'mud, dirt, excrements', which word was frequently used — when simplex, in the plural — in place-names to design swampy soil', Lindkvist p. 162. He gives this name from Cum, Wm., Yks; mod. forms *Sowerby*. Our instance is not identifiable.

8 *sowmes* 1404, 398 'trace of a cart'. From OWScn *saumr* (= OE *seam*) Björkman p. 72. Mod. dial. [*sōm*] *soam* Dur, EDD s. v. *soam*; but note the spellings *soom*, *sowm* Nhb.

stoppes correi 1397, 601; *stopez* 1427, 142; 1454, 149; *stowpez* 1485, 649; *stowpys* 1507, 105; *stowpes* 1512, 105. On the origin. of this word, see Björkman, p. 78, and Lindkvist, p. 165, who, on account of its local distribution — only in some northern counties and eAnglia — is inclined to assume Scn introduction: OWScn *staup* 'a steep declivity or slope', 'cavity, pit, goblet' (Björkman); Norw. dial. *staup* 'a hole in a road, deep rut; cup, goblet'. The EtD derives it from MDu *stoop*. — EDD gives [*stūp*] written *stoup*, *stoop*, *stowp* (Sc., Nhb, Cum, Yks, Lan, eAnglia).

rungstoures pro carectis 1389, 596; *hekstaures* 1401, 300; *staures* (=z) *pro shepehekkys* 1417, 302 (2); *dalbyngstowrys* 1459, 152; *dalbyngstowrys* 1479, 96; *lez stowrys* 1480, 322; 1490, 158; *stoowrys* 1507, 104; *stowris* 1508, 159; =*stoures* 1513, 161; 1536, 702; *stowres*, *stowrres* 1541, 720, 721. From OWScn *staurr*, 'late introduction' Björkman p.

81. EDD has *stower* from Sc., Nhb, etc.; *stoor*, *stour*, Sc, Nhb, etc., but only one phon. transcription [*stauə(r)*].

FP:

H. Cupman, Coupeman 1279, 70.

N. Hauxby 1367 (2), possibly from the OWScn man's name *Haukr*, but it may also be from ME *hawk*, OE *hafoc* (see Lindkvist p. 143).

Hurthewith, Hurthwith 1233—44, 127. The *r* seems to be best accounted for by assuming the 1st member to be from OWScn *haugr* 'hill', cf. the spelling *Hogarthweit* in a Yks charter of uncertain date, given by Lindkvist p. 111. 2nd member is from OWScn *þveit* f., prop. 'a cut-off piece', Lindkvist p. 96.

R. Rouceby 1431—2; 1432; 1460; etc.; *W. Rowsby* 1457—8, etc. '1st member is gen. of the OWScn man's name *Rauðr*, developed from the surname *Rauðr* 'the red', Lindkvist p. 161.

W. de Roudbyri 1277, 146. Perhaps the Nhb *Rothbury* [rɔtbari] dealt with by Lindkvist p. 158 and supposed to be from OWScn *rauðr* 'red'. The earliest spelling known is quoted by Mawer, who takes the first member to be OWScn *raudi* 'red', used as a nickname.

viiiij sowmes 1411; *ij futsomys*, *j fuytsomez*, *iiij medylsomez*, *v mydylsomys* 1465.

iiij stowpes 1397; *j stope* 1411.

JR: *cum somis ferreis* 1333, 21 etc.

WR: *xj sowmys* 1505, 228.

CoAcc: *Cowpeland* 1350; *Coupland* 1364; *R. de Haxby* 1356, 1357, 1358.

HoB: *L. Soyrbay* 324; *stupis* 11.

The following additional spellings are quoted from Mawer: *Copland* 1104—8, *Coupland* 1313, *Coupeland* 1340, now *Copeland House* (Auckland); *Coupland* c. 1250, *Couplaund* 1225, *Copeland* 1663, now *Coupland* (Kirknewton).

Björkman and Lindkvist have discussed the question of the development of Scn *ou*, *au* in ME; they have not, however, arrived at any definite results. B. (p. 79) admits that the problem cannot be solved completely by means of the ME material and points out that a careful examination of the modern dialects would perhaps bring the question nearer to a solution.

The first difficulty we meet with when treating the ME material is the ambiguousness of the digraph *ou*, which may denote either /*ou*/ or /*ū*/. It is true that this inconvenience does not appear until the period when our scribes begin to use StE /*u*/ for older /*ō*/, i. e. from the latter half of the 14th cent., but most of our material belongs to this very period. We are aware, further, that our knowledge of the mod. dialects — indispensable for purposes of comparison in this case — is not yet satisfactory. In spite of all this we shall try to analyze the different forms in our material. For obvious reasons, the place-names will, as a rule, be left out of account.

In *staures* 1401, 1417—18 (2), we have the diphthong /*au*/. Now, according to EDG, for OE *a3*, *aw*, we find in the mod. Dur dial. [*a*] (*draught*, *slaughter*); in nDur [*ā*] (*claw*, *draw*, *gnaw*, *law*, *maw*, *awl*, *dawn*); in sDur [*ō*] (*law*, *saw* sb., *awl*), this *ō* apparently being due to influence from received speech.

For the mod. continuations of OE *aw*, *a3*, I refer to the list on p. 33, nis. 37—49.

We learn from this that the usual development within the dial. is /*au*/ > [*ā*], but the retention of *au* is also exemplified. Thus we may be entitled to take the mod. [*stauə*(*r*)] to be the direct continuation of our /*staur*/. That it does not go back to an older /*stūr*/ is intimated by the fact that the OE combination *ūr* is [*uə*] in the pres. dial: [*uə*] nDur 'our', [/*uə*] n & sDur 'shower' (EDG).

The mod. dial. equivalents of ME *ou*, *ōw* being [*ou*,

au, [], irregularly interchanging (EDG §§ 90, 96, 166, 168) the mod. [*k̄p*, *kaup*, *koup*] for Scn *kaup* may all be traced back to an older diphthong /*ou*/. This type is represented by all the recorded spellings except *Cop*- 1104, *Cup*- *FP* 1279, and prob. the *DAR* forms, which belong to the $\bar{q}$ -type. It is significant for the treatment of this group of loan-words that the *FP* scribe from 1279 has both types of spelling, one answering to his pronunciation, the other traditional. No continuation of the orig. $\bar{q}$ -type is recorded in the mod. dialect.

The mod. [*nout*] may correspond to /*nout*/ 1375.

For *Rokpen*' 1292, cf. *Copm*' above. Its direct equivalent in the mod. dial. is [*rūk*], spelt *rook*, a form developed under the influence of rec. speech.

The orig. dialectal type of *saumr* is /*sōm*/, used by the *JR* scribes and surviving in Nhb. *soom*, where the vowel has been modified under StE influence. On the other hand, the type /*soum*/ is indubitably warranted by the *sowmes*-spellings and mod. Dur [*sōm*] 'soam' (cf. Nhb *sowm*; *ow* in Nhb. dialectal orthography means [*ou*], see Ellis, p. 639). The 1465 forms are ambiguous. Although having the appearance of an $\bar{q}$ -type, they may equally well represent the diphthongal type, reduced under weak stress.

The $\bar{q}$ -type of *stoop* is well evidenced from 1397 throughout the period of our texts and down to mod. times: [*stup*]. The *DAR* form from 1397 stands for a native compound *lethirstoppes* with shortened vowel. In the absence of any mod. pronunciations going back to a diphthongal type, the existence of /*ou*/ or /*au*/ in this word cannot be positively urged. But since *ow* is used in a series of spellings 1397—1512 and appears also as a mod. spelling, it seems probable that this word, too, has a type in /*ou*/. Should it turn out, on further investigation, that the word has nowhere had a diphthongal sound reflected in the mod. diall. by [*au*], [*ou*], or [*ō*], it must be admitted

that this would imply a weighty objection against the Scn derivation of the word.

There remain to be discussed the forms *-stoures*, *stowres*, *stoowrys*, *stowrres*. The last but one of these obviously implies / $\bar{u}$ /; the doubling of *r* in the last form suggests that the preceding vowel is short (shortening of $\bar{u}/r$ is paralleled elsewhere in the texts), and from this we may infer a monophthongal quality of the vowel. This being so, it is probable that *ou*, *ow* stands for / $\bar{u}$ / in the other forms also. Now ME / $st\bar{u}r$ / would yield [$stu\bar{a}(r)$] in the mod. dial. Wright does not give this pron., but the spelling *stoor* is recorded for Sc., Nhb, etc. The ME ground-form must be / $st\bar{q}r$ / (cf. ME *soore* < Scn *saurr*, under *Soyrby*). Thus this type has had a development parallel e. g. to that of the native *bord*, mod. [$b\bar{u}rd$, $bua\bar{d}$], and Scn *stórr* 'great', mod. [$stu\bar{a}(r)$] (see EDD), written *stoor* WCorr c. 1447, 241.

A summary of the forms examined will show the following distribution of the different representations of Scn *ou*, *au*:

/ $\bar{q}$ / and /*au*/ in *stoowrys* — *staures*.

/ $\bar{q}$ / and /*ou*/ in *Cop-*, *Cup-* — *Coup-*, *somis* — *sowmes*, prob.
stopez — *stowpes*.

/*ou*/ in *nout*.

/ $\bar{q}$ / in *Rok*.

Björkman (p. 81, footnote 2), after consulting some of the material collected for the EDD, says that this material clearly shows the forms in *ou* to be North. Midl. and Northern, and those in $\bar{q}$ to be Midl. (with the exception of some North. Midl. districts) and Southern. It will be admitted that the material from our Dur texts does not go to confirm this observation. Inasmuch as the $\bar{q}$ forms cannot be looked upon as being adopted — *Copland*, *Cupman*, *Rok-*, *somis* belonging to the period 1104–1333 — the

existence of $\bar{q}$ -forms in the early Dur dial. cannot be denied. Since it is probable also that the three *staur*-forms from 1401—18 are genuinely dialectal, we must assume that the three types /ou/, /au/, and / $\bar{q}$ / were all used within our dialect. Thus the result of a special investigation proves to be the same as that suggested by the ME material in general — an interchange of forms which appears altogether irrational.

In Scn loan-words in OE, Scn *ou*, *au* is rendered by $\acute{o}$: *óra*, *landcóp*, *lahcóp*, *róda* (perh. also *-lóp* as in *brǽdhlop* Rush.², *brǽdlope* Chr. 1076), but spellings as *Ouðgrim*, *Aszout*, *Oustman*, *Auðcetel*, *Oudcytel*, (*Othgrim*) are found on coins (Sievers, § 26, Anm., Björkman p. 68, 71 footnote, with references). The $\acute{o}$ -group consists of words more completely assimilated to the native vocabulary, whereas the proper names were not likely in the same way to become part and parcel of everyday speech. At any rate, the diphthongal spellings on the coins clearly suggest a kind of official orthography directly bearing on Scn pronunciation. Thus in actual speech, Scn *ou*, *au* was replaced by an OE $\acute{o}$ which was felt to be the nearest equivalent of it within the OE sound-system. Later on, according as the Engl. diphthongs *ou*, *au*, — developed out of the old combinations *oht*, *ōht*, *oʒ*, *ōh*, *ōʒ*, *ōw*; *ǣʒ*, *ǣw* — came into existence, the Scn words could be immediately transferred into English in their original forms. Such a supposition implies that the Scn loan-words in / $\bar{q}$ / within a given area belong to an old period of adoption, whereas those in /ou/, /au/ are later introductions.

Now all the words examined above, except *nout* and *rok* — which are found only once each — exhibit the $\bar{q}$ -type as well as one or the other of the diphthongal types. The $\bar{q}$ -type is a substitute for the true Scn forms and is the original one; the date of the spellings confirms this. However, when once the new diphthongs *ou*, *au* had developed

within English itself, the correct diphthongal types were taken over into the dialects from the language of the Scn settlers and entered into successful competition with the old $\bar{o}$ -type.

IX.

OE *i*, *y* and *u*.

(A) In closed syllables.

(1) *Development of OE y.*

In the ONhbn texts from the late 10th cent. there are sporadic spellings of *i* for *y*, suggesting an unrounding of *y*, at least in its beginnings (Luick, Gramm. § 287, Anm. 1). In the earliest ME spellings which I have to go upon (quoted from Mawer), *i* and *y* are indifferently used both for old *y* and old *i*, showing that the two sounds have run together into *i*. A few examples will suffice: *Killum* 1176, *Kyllum* 1216, *Killum* 1227, 1255, c. 1250 (OE *cylnum* dat. pl.), now *Kilham*; *Killey* 1228 (OE *cij*, shortened), now *Kyloe*; *Kymbiswrth*, *Kimleswrthe* (OE **Cymel*), now *Kimblesworth*; *Tirlington* 1210 (OE *Tyrhtel*), now *Tritlington*; *Styfford* 1210–12,, *Stiford* 1262, *Stifford* c. 1250 (OE *stīz*, shortened), now *Styford*; *Wyndihege* c. 1200 'windy hay', now *Windyhaugh*; *Wyneiard* 1237, *Wingherd* 1238 'Wine's yard', now *Wynyard*; *Nesebyt*, *Nesebite*, *Nesbyte* 1255 (OE *bita*), now *Nesbit*.

Some of the place-names show signs of a different development of *y*. Spellings:

Clenil 1181, *Chenhull* 1255, *Clenhill* 1346, *Clenell* 1428 'clean hill', now *Clennell*.

Culuwerdebi 1091, 1197, *Kiluerdebi* 1207, *Kyllewardby* 1312, *Kilwerby* 1313 (OE *Cytelweard*); now *Killerby*.

Killingworth 1251, c. 1250, *Cullingwurth* 1255, *Killyngworth* 1346 (OE *Cylla*), now *Killingworth*.

Mulleton 1203, *Milneton* 1324 (OE *myl(e)n*), now *Milton*.

Ryding 1262, *le Ruddyng* 1298, *Ryddyg* 1312, *Redyg* 1454, *Riddinge* 1526 (OE *hryding*), now *Riding Lee*.

Schullington c. 1250, *Schillington*, *Shilvington* 1316, *Shilvontoune* 1323 (OE *Scylfa*), now *Shilvington*.

Suleshop 1324, *Sils* 1723 (OE *Sjla*), now *Sills*.

Thurlewall 1255, *Thirlewalle* 1279, *Thrilwall* 1479 (OE *þ̄rrel* adj. 'pierced'), now *Thirlewall*.

Sutlington c. 1240, *S(c)hutelington* 1279, *Shutlyngton* 1358, *Shitlington* 1663 (OE **Scyttel*), now *Shitlington*.

Shotelhough 1378, *Shittelhaughe* 1618 (OE *scyttel*), now *Shittleheugh*.

Shuttilhopfeld 1382 (OE *scyttel*), now *Shittlehope*.

Most of these names have *i*-spellings side by side with the forms in *u*. The natural inference is that there remained an alternative /y/-pron. of these words. Seeing, further, that the ultimate result was /i/, the *y* in these cases would only have been delayed for some time in its usual development towards /i/. In the majority of cases, the vowel is followed by *l*, once, in *Thurlewall*, by *rl*. In one case it stands between *r* and *d*. That *l* was apt to preserve a labial articulation is seen in the later development of StE /u/, as in *full* etc. (see, e. g., Ekwall, Ne. Lautl., 98). In *Shullington* the preceding /f/ exercised an additional conservative influence. Thus we find here a weak reflex of those tendencies which in the South preserved old *y* and subsequently changed it to /u/ (*churche*, *burden*, *schutte(n)*, *schuttel*; Luick, Gramm. § 397).

The names supposed to contain OE *scyttel* stand apart from the rest. Of these there are no early forms in *i*; on the contrary, the *o*-form from 1378 shows that the vowel is in these words /u/. This is the same development as in StE *shuttle* and would have nothing improbable in it, but the difficulty is that the vowel appears as /i/ in

NE times. Mawer, p. 258, postulates a development $u > i$ in some of his place-names. Even if some of his examples are to be weeded out as uncertain, there will remain a few for which such a development must be admitted: *Dunington* 1255, *Donyngton* 1346, *Dunnyngton* 1650, *Dinnington* 1663 (OE *Dunning(a)-tūn*), now *Dinnington* [*dintən*]; *Dunley* 1279, 1479 (OE *dūn*), now *Dinley*; *Wlsingham* c. 1150, *Wulsingham* 1336, *Wisinham* 1705 (OE *Wulfsiȝe*), now *Wolsingham*; *Wulsinton* 1203, *Wolsyngton* 1360, *Wissington* 1663, now *Woolsington* [*wisinytən*]. The *i*-forms of these names do not appear until NE times and will no doubt allow of a satisfactory phonetic explanation. An illustrative parallel is the development of the North. modification of $\bar{o}$, which when shortened generally appears as $/i/$. That there was a distinct shade of $/u/$ in North. $/y/$ is suggested by the $/iu/$ diphthongs arising from it. There is a possibility then, that the orig. y in *Shutlyngton* etc. did actually develop into $/i/$ via $/u/$. — Cf., too, the Sc. development $u > i$, EDG § 100, and Mutschmann, § 144.

It should be observed that the developments dealt with above are occasional. The series of spellings quoted at the head of this section shows that y was not always kept before l , r ; forms like *Silvingdon* 1240, *Shilyndon* c. 1250 (OE *Scylfa*), now *Shildon* (Bywell St Peter); *Sciluedon* 1214, *Silvedene* 1269 (OE *scylf*), now *Shildon* (Auckland) prove that it was not always preserved even between $/f/$ and $/l/$.

The group *wyr-*, as in *wyrt* 'beer', OAngl *wyrðscipe* 'honour', becomes $/wur/$: *wourtfatts* FP 1367, *wortleds* 1468—9, *worshipfull* CoP 1414, 123 etc. Generally, however, the old spelling *wirshipfull* is retained throughout the correspondence (down to 1456). Owing to this change we find *wir* used for $/wur/$: *wirsted* DAR 1347, 545; 1402, 1406, 182 'worsted' (OE *wōrðe*); *wirdis* 'words' WCorr c. 1447, 243. The date of the change can be fixed at c.

1300, and the consistent spelling *wir* suggests an intermediate stage /*wir*/. — For OAngl. *wyrsa* 'worse' see below under *ir* and *ur*. ONhbn *wyrca* (Bülbring § 161) has developed through /*wurk*/ to [wōk] sNhb, [wuək] eYks, [wūk] nnw & snwYks. For the Dur developm., see under *ir*. — Cf. Luick, Gramm. § 286. 2.

The mod. Dur. pronunciations of OE *byrðen*, *scyrte*, *fyrst*, and OWScn *byrð* 'birth' go back to older /*u*/ (see below), but in the absence of old spellings — I have found only a late *u*-form, *furste* CoP 1441, 127 — it is not easy to tell whether the development was *y* > *u* > ... or *y* > *i* > *u* > ...

(2) Development of ME *i* (OE *i* and *y*).

The quality of OE *i* is held to have been close (Bülbring, § 93), and in the South it remained close till the late ME period (Ekwall, Ne. Lautl., 67). In the North it seems to have been already an open *i* in eME times. This is suggested by the early change *e* > *i* in certain combinations, which points to a rather close affinity between the two sounds, by the development of *i* in open syllables, and by occasional spellings of *e* for *i*. When not influenced by neighbouring sounds, this *i* has remained practically unchanged down to the present day.

(a) *i* surrounded by *r-f*, *r-s*, *r-l*, *r-n*.

OE *risca-ford* is written *Risseforthe* 1242, *Ryssheford* 1316, now *Rushyford*. I am not in a position to state that the modern form is purely dialectal, but the following spellings, showing the change *i* > *u*, strongly suggest that this is the case: *Trullesdale* 1337 from earlier *Trillesden* c. 1200 (< *threl* 'a slave', Scn *prēll*), now *Tursdale*; *Thirston* 1475, inverted spelling for /*purston*/ < /*pruston*/, spelt **Thriston*, earlier *Thorston*, 'Thor's farm', now *Throston*; mod. nDur [*grundsən*] 'grindstone' (Ellis, p. 673, no. 478). For *Thirston*, however, cf. *pirda*, p. 120.

(b) The combination *ir*.

In the following place-names *ir* has run together with *er* and has then had the same development as this group (see Ch. X). Cf. the later coalescence of *ir* and *er* in StE (Jespersen, MEG 11. 12). *Tyrsete* 1269, *Tirset* 1329, *Tarsett* 1542 (OE *Tira(n)sæte*), now *Tarsett*. *Thirnum* 1307, *Thernhamme* 1343, *Tharnham* 1542, *Farneham* 1628 (OE *pyrne*), now *Farnham*.

Hernham 1271, *Harnaham* c. 1250, *Harnam* 1346 (OE *hyrne*), now *Harnham*.

Hirnhous 1398, *Hernehouse* 1618 (OE *hyrne*-).

Wiramutham c. 1125, *Wermouth* 1306, *Warmouth* 1438—1733, now *Wearmouth*, corrected on the simplex *Wear*.

Girwuum 1203, *Jarwe* 1228, *Jarou* 1345, *Jarrow* 1396 etc. — *Wardel DAR* 1293, 493 'Weardale.'

The early change *ir* > *er* accounts for the use of *i*, *y* in the series that follow: OE *here-botl*, *Hirbotle* 1220, *Hyrbotle* 1244, *Hir-* 1283, 1324, *Herbotill* 1430, *Harbotell*, *Hirbotle* 1479, now *Harbottle* — OE *here-hlāw*, *Hyrlawe* 1244, *Hirlawe* 1278, 1329, *Herlawe* 1346, *Harlawe* 1538, now *Harlow Hill*.

A mod. nDur pron. [*/aæt*] 'shirt' is due to the same development, and so, it would seem, is a wide-spread North. [*a*]pron. of OE *wyrsa*: [*wars*] . . . sSc, me & se Nhb . . . , [*was*] sNhb, sDur . . . , and nDur [*waək*] vb < ONhbn *wyrca* [spellings: *wyrk HoB* 88, *wyrkyng* *DAR* 1555, 771). The noun, ONhbn *werc*, is Dur [*wāk*].

OE *birda* (< *bridida*), *cirice*, *birce* appear in the present dial. in forms developed from older /*u*/ (see below).

It should be pointed out, in connexion with the above discussion, that the present material is too fragmentary to allow of a more definite description of the combinative developments of OE *y*, *i*.

(c) *i* preceded by *w*.

In this position *i* has generally become [*v*] in Sc. and [*u*] in parts of Nhb, Cum, and Wm (EDG, § 69). The Sc. development is apparently [*i* > *u* > *v*]. Examples: *whistle*, *will* *window*, *witch*, *wind*, *wish*, *swim*. In Dur these words — as far as recorded — have [*i*]. Nor have I found any old spellings implying a change. However, there is evidence of the change *i* > *u* in the combination *wim*: [*wumən*] Dur 'woman', [*wumin*] sDur 'women'. Of ME *wimbil* 'a gimlet' the following spellings occur in our texts: *j rest womyll*, *j restwemyll* FP 1465, *ij womyls* 1481–2, *iiij womellis* 1482–3, *iiij le3 womble3* 1495–6; *wymbillis* JR 1408, 81; *1 womyll* 1491, 127; *womyle* 1491, 130; *iiij new womles* WR 1505, 228.

(3) Development of *u*.

Ellis, p. 638, gives the following description of the *u*-pronunciations in the North. dial. districts: 'The Lowland like the South has entirely abandoned the (*u*) sound of *u* and replaced it by (ɐ) [= provincial equivalent of received *v*], while (ʉ) is retained in D 30 and 31 [31⁶ = nDur], and the great peculiarity of D32 [North Northern] is the gradual dying out of this (*u*) into (ɐ).' As for nDur especially, he says that a transition sound from (*u*) to (ɐ) 'begins to assert itself, but (*u*) is more general' (p. 640). The change affects *u* in all positions.

A few lines must be devoted to the orthography. The two standard symbols *u* and *o* interchange in the usual way. The French spelling *ou*, which is first met with in the F word *Couker* 'sugar' DAR c. 1310, 510, then in *Coungres* 'sea-eels' 1333, 23–25 (OF *congre*), is extremely rare in the 14th cent., but occurs now and then in later records: *Joh'i Dowffe* DAR 1445, 629, *soume* 'sum' CoP 1447, 160, *Woulhouse* DAR 1456, 636, *rounges* 'rungs' 1508, 252, *Souttilteys* 1509, 105, *doussyne* 1541, 720, *gow-*

ters 1557, 715; *sunday* GA 1600, 27, *mouny* 'money' 1677, 81. *oo* is occasionally found: *doocke* 'duck' GA 1591, 15, *dooke* 1601, 29. There are, besides, some curious spellings calling for special attention. In the *WCorr* 1461, 245, we find: *y^e athir* 'other', *yis samons* (*I summon* *ibid.*). The *a* must imply a change to /v/ or nearly so. The occurrence of such a pron. in our texts will have to be assigned to Sc. influence. It appears quite plausible that /u/ had changed considerably in Scottish by this time, seeing that the modification of /u/ within StE took place in the 16th cent., perhaps even at the beginning of it (Ekwall, *Ne. Lautl.*, 97; Horn, *Ne. Gr.*, § 61). In colloquial English there are traces of the unrounding of *u* as early as the middle or the latter part of the 15th cent. (Paston, Fortescue), see Wyld, *Coll. Engl.*, pp. 72, 232 ff., and cf. Zachrisson, *Engl. Vowels*. A late instance of the same kind occurs in GA, 1610, 39: *Easter sondaye Whit soandaye and . . .*, although here the change may also be due to the weak stress. Doubtful, but still remarkable, are *soeme* (2) 'sum' *CoP* 1447, 160 (*soume* *ibid.*), *mueny* 'money' GA 1677, 81 (*mouny* *ibid.*).

u before *l* + cons.

Spellings: — *FP* *ij cowters*, *iiij cultres* 1465; *JR* *j. culter* 1382, 71, *iiij. cowters* 1491, 127. Here *ow* means /ū/, and the same sound occurs in mod. *cooter* [kūtər], given by EDD for Dur and a great many other dial. districts. The word goes back to OE *culter*, L. *culter*; OF forms are *coltre*, *coultre*, later *coutre*, which, according to NED, may have influenced the ME and mod. forms. As far as our dial. is concerned, however, the possibility of an independent development cannot be altogether rejected, for we find the same pron. in the native *shoulder* [ʃūdə(r)] (EDG) and in the place-name *Ushaw*: *Ulveskahe*, c. 1196 *FP*, *Uuesshaw* 1312 Reg. Pal. Dunelm: *ul* > *uū* > *ū*.

ur.

The spellings do not go far to elucidate the genuine development of this group, and so it will be convenient to give a list of mod. pronunciations, so as to convey an idea of the ultimate results. The words are arranged in groups according to the origin of the vowel.

(1) OE *ur* and *ūr* + cons.: [kərdz] nDur, [krudz] sDur 'curds', [kə̃s] nDur 'curse', [mən] sNhb, [morn] swNhb 'mourn'.

(2) *burn, burst*: [bən] nDur, [bə̃st, brust] nDur.

(3) F /u/: [kuəs] nDur 'coarse', [toən] nDur 'turn'.

(4) OE *wor* + cons.: [woəd] nDur, [wuəd] sDur 'word', [wuəp] sDur 'worth'.

(5) OE *or* + cons.: [bəd, bə̃əd, buəd] nDur 'board', [koən, kən] nDur, [kuən] sDur 'corn', [oən] nDur, [uən] sDur 'horn', [stəm] sDur 'storm'.

(6) OE, Scn *y* + *r*: [bəd̃n, bə̃d̃n] nDur 'burden', [fə̃st, fə̃ast] nDur 'first', [fə̃ət] nDur 'shirt' (cf. [fə̃ət] above), [wək] sNhb 'work' vb, [woəs] nDur 'worse' (cf. [wəs] above), [bop] nDur, [bə̃p] sDur 'birth'.

(7) OE *i* + *r*: [tʃət̃f, tʃə̃ət̃f, tʃət̃f] nDur, [tʃuət̃f] sDur 'church', [kən] Dur 'churn', [bək] Dur, [bək, bə̃t̃f] nDur 'birch', [pə̃əd] nDur 'third'.

The ə-, ə- pronunciations are StE or due to influence from StE. The genuine development is in nDur [ə̃] (as in sNhb), sometimes [oə, əə, uə], in sDur [uə]. The sDur [stəm] (cf. [bə̃p, bək, kən]) may be a quite recent introduction. As to the date of the modification we note that the adopted received type /ūrd/ < /ōrd/ (15th cent.) was affected in the same way as vernacular /ūr/. The change can be orthographically verified only by spellings in *or* of orig. *ur*-words, but no such forms have been noted. The evidence of the *DAR borddyng* 1512, *-borddes* 1516, *dorres* 1541¹⁾ is not absolutely con-

¹⁾ For the phonology of this word, see under *u*-.

clusive, but if these forms are compared with the later metathesised forms *brod naylles*, *brode naylles* 1541, it seems just probable that we have to do here with a modified type in /or/ (>/ro/). The same may be said also of the GA spellings *sortts* 1613, 43, *sord* 1682, 84 'sword(s). But it should be noted that there are also unmistakable /ur/=forms throughout the texts: *bourdewages* 1543, *furth* 'forth' 1544, *bourdnayll* 1544, *boord*, *doore* 1589. The two-fold development found in the mod. dial. would thus date as early as the beginning of the 16th cent. at least. This chronology agrees well with the observations that follow.

In the letter from 1461 just mentioned, *WCorr* p. 245, we find, besides the two Sc. pronunciations of /u/, the spelling *y^e far said* 'foresaid'; *far* (cf. *foyrhamers FP* 1465) goes back to /fūr < fōr < fōre < fō-re/, and is to be connected with mod. Sc. [vr] < /ur/ (EDG § 107). This affords a date for the Sc. modification. Another instance to the point is perhaps *wershipfull CoP* 1461, 187: the somewhat undefined vowel that was denoted by *a + r* might just as well be expressed by *e + r*.

In GA we find the following inverted spellings: *hurd* (3) 'shepherd', *surves* 'service' 1592, 16–17. The language of the copyists of these records abounds in southern pronunciations, and thus we may be pretty sure that the spellings mean /hərd, sərvɪs/, implying the coalescence of the groups /er/ and /ur/ (cf. Jespersen, MEG 11.12). But note *ibid.*: *carnfourth* pers. n. 1596, 23 (~ *cornfourth*), *carnforth* 1608, 34 (usually *Cornforth*), further *Carnfurth* 1523 (Court Roll printed on p. 166).

(B) OE *ī* and *ū* in open syllables.

The following interpretation of the *ie* and *ū*=spellings in our texts is arranged on the pattern of Luick's investigations. The material is accordingly divided up into four groups (see *Studien*, pp. 4 ff., 19), viz.:

I. Uninflected words in *e*: *dide* (OE *dyde*).

II. Words in *-e* with inflexional endings (*-es*, *-en*, *-ed(e)*, *-and(e)* etc.): *sune*, *sunes*, *live*, *lives*, *lived*, *livede*, *livand(e)*.

III. Words with suffixes (*-er*, *-el*, *-en*, *-y*, *-ow* etc.): *mikel*, *writhen*, *bisy*, *widow*.

IV. Words with OE *ī*, *ȳ* occasionally shortened: *stirap* (OE *stīzrāp*).

Luick's theory implies that within a certain period any *ī*- developed into *ē* and any *ȳ*- into *ō*. The only spellings to be taken into account as criteria of these changes are, of course, those in *e* and *o*¹⁾; they are, however, not immediately conclusive, since *e* may stand for */ī/*, and *o* for */ȳ/*. But if we find that, in a given text, *e(o)* is not at all, or else only exceptionally, used for certain *ī (/ī/)*, the presumption is that the *e(o)*-spelling does *not* imply *ī (/ī/)*. Moreover, if the spelling proves to be identical with that used for certain *ē (/ē/)*, we can safely infer for it the value of *ē (/ē/)*. Thus the chief point of the criticism will be to discover the practice in rendering certain *ī (/ī/)* on one side, and certain *ē (/ē/)* on the other. Now it would be a great advantage for us to be able to state this practice with regard to each individual scribe, and what little there is to be gathered in this respect is given immediately after the forms recorded, but seeing that the passage written by each copyist is generally very short, we shall, as a rule, be obliged to draw our conclusions from a more general point of view.

(1) *Spellings of ī*.

DAR.

II. 2 *bridill bittis* 1438, 71; *bridilbetez* 1466, 154. (Certain *ī* is written *i* or *y*, only once *ey*, in *Spreyng* (see p. 61). eME *ē*, which by this time had probably coincided with eME *ē*, as */ī/* (see p. 64), occurs in *whetebarn*

¹⁾ In the later period also *ey*, *oy*.

and, under secondary stress, in *steplede*, *warkledes*; *step-* contains Scn *ei*, ME *ē*. Doubling of cons. to denote short quantity in *fethirbeddez* (2)). *brydilbittis* 1509, 661; *Bridilbyttes* 1513, 663; *brydilbittis* 1528, 162 (OE *bita*, ME *bite*).

Growelseve 1333, 525 (*i*: *i* or *y*; *ē*: *chesfattes*); *1 reyn-*
igisise 1400, 603 (= *sife*)¹); *syffez* 1423, 619; *ij sewes* 1434,
232 (*i*: *y* (*i*)); *ij sevez* 1454, 150 (*i*: *pik* 'pick', *smyth*, *kip-*
stryng; *e*: *shete*, *wedhukez*); *1 Reyng syff* 1485, 649; *1 syff*
1487, 651; *1 seiffe* 1495, 653 (*ē*: *leippeze*); (OE *sife*).

lez whyke 1456, 241 'quicksets'; (*le qwyking* 1469, 244;
whikwod 1473, 645; *qwhykkyng* 1483, 649;) *cc^{ma} qweke* 1484,
98 (*e*: *unyonsede*); (*Whikwod* (2) 1489, 101;) *qwyke* 1504,
251; *wykses*, *whikkis* 1507, 660 (to OE *cwicu*).

Candelwykstret 1351, 552; *Candilwek* 1376, 386; *vj*
libre de weke 1404, 395; *Candylweke* 1424, 625; 1438, 71;
Candileweke c. 1440, 626; *Candylwykesilver* 1536, 674;
wick 1536, 418 (OE *wice*).

III. *1 fyly*, *2 fylis* 1404, 399 (OWScn *fylja*).

12 frethyngs 1348, 43 (*i*: *y*); *frethys* 1391, 50 (*i*: *i*, *y*;
e: *sether* *passim*); *3 frethyng'* 1429, 60 (*i*: *quyssyngs*); *fridys*
1430, 60 'perhaps besoms made of brush-wood' (NED
gives only *Frith* sb.², 3 < OE *fyrðe*).

pro pyling . . . lane c. 1358, 561; *pro pilyng lane* 1375,
583 (Luick, *Unters.* § 557: "ae. **pi(o)lian* aus lat. *pilare*.
Die ae. grundform ergab im Norden *pēl*, im Süden *pil* . . . ,
und beide varianten drangen in die schriftsprache").

Courtsmethy c. 1350, 381; (*Smythgarth* 1376, 387)
Smythigarth 1377, 387; 1395, 392; *Smethyhouse* 1469, 642;
(EtD: OE *smiððe*; Holthausen: OWScn *smiðja*).

Swelyngpan 1459, 89 (*i*: *i*, *y*; *ē*: *Sethyng-*, *wehe*, *ske-*

¹) As to *reynig-*, *reyng-* the Gloss. refers to Halliwell: *Rey* 'to dress or clean', and Brockett: *Ree* 'to cleanse corn'. The word is no doubt of Scn origin.

lez 'skeels', *chesfattetz*, *Shepecroke*, *Brercroke*); *lez Swyl-lyngpan* 1485, 98 (EtD: *Swill* to wash dishes . . ., ME *swillien*, AS *swilian*).

wrethyn candell 1401, 393 (OE *wriðen*, pa. ptc. of *wriðan*).

IV. *stiraps* 1394, 599 etc. see p. 22.

I rygwythi 1419, 407; *rigwethy* 1456, 636 (*i*: *i*, *y*) (OE *wiðiz*, Luick, Gramm. § 353).

FP.

II. *ij sefes* 1354, *j seyff* 1465, *seyffis* 1482—3.

ij spetys 'spits' 1397 (OE *spitu*, ME *spite*).

III. *ij sekyls* 1465 (OE *sicol*).

JR.

II. *j. temesyng syve* 1408, 81; *ij. sevys* 1416, 91; *i. mele seyff* 1491, 129; *meyll syff* 1491, 127.

WR.

II. *melsyf* 1362, 159; *melesefe* 1378, 172; *melsyfe* 1394, 182; *sevys* 1505, 228 (*ē*: *teth*, *ches*-, *schettys* 'sheets').

ij. spetys 1505, 228.

CoP.

The spellings of certain *i* and old *ē* are regular throughout these documents, the former being written *i* or *y* (sometimes *e* in *es* 'is'), the latter *e*, *ee*, only occasionally *ea* and, in F words, *ei* (*ey*).

I. *if he so did* 1442, 138, *whe deid* 1442, 132, either the sg. (< *dyde*) or the pl. (< *dēdon*).

II. *gifand* 1414, 86; 1441, 120; 1442, 137; *gyff* inf. 1438—9, 110 (*gevyn* ib.); *giff* inf. 1441, 116; *giffe* inf. 1441, 123 (*gevyn* ib.); *gyff* pres. subj. 1442, 127; inf. 1444, 153; *giffes* 3 pl. 1456, 182; *Gebyn* 1429, 105; *gevyn* 1441, 118; 1441, 120; *giffen* 1442, 146; *geven*, *Yeven* 1449, 165.

leveying, *leveyng* (2) 'living' 1429, 104.

xvij wekes 1449, 165.

to wete 1441, 117; *weete* 1441, 121; 1441, 122; 1441

—2, 134; *weite*, *wete* 1442, 132; *wete* 1444, 153; 1456, 181; *witt* inf. 1461, 187; 1462, 190 (2).

wrytyn pa. ptc. 1438—9, 110; 1440, 114; 1440, 116; *wretyn* (3) 1441, 116; 1441, 117 (2); *wrytin*, *wretyn* (2) 1441, 119; *writen* 1441, 122; *wrytyn*, *wrytyn* 1441, 122 (another document); *wrytyn*, *Writen* 1441, 123; *Writen* 1441, 124; *Wreten* 1441, 124 (another doc.); *Wretyn* 1441—2, 127; *Wrytyn* 1441—2, 133; *Wrytyn* 1441—2, 134; *wrytin* 1442, 137; *wreton* 1444, 154; *Writen* 1447, 161 etc.

III. *besynessee* 1442, 132; 1446 157; *besily* 1456, 183. *for als mekle as* 1441, 116; *mykill better* 1441, 121; *for as mykill as* 1446, 157; *For als mykill as* 1449, 164. *CoAcc.*

melsywys, *syvys*, *iij spettis of irne*, *a langspet* 1446. *HoB.*: *brydylbytts*.

GA.: *geven*, *to geve* 1594, 20; *the cryple* 1583, 12; *a cryppell* 1584, 12; *a creaple* 1596, 24; *a cripple* 1599, 27 (OE *crypel*); *wedow* (2), *wedowe* (3) 1584, 12.

Spellings of *r*- in French words:

chesels c. 1357, 560; *chissils*, *chissels* (2) 1367, 571; *chisels* 1373, 578; 2 *chesalys*, 3 *chysel* 1404, 396—7; *cheseles* 1412, 610; *chesels* 1489, 19 (NED: ONF *chisel*. *e*-forms recorded from the 15th to the 19th cent., also *cheezil*).

rybane 1438, 408; *ribayn* 1439, 409; *reban* 1440, 410, *riban* 1472, 232 (OF *riban*).

3 *Riddell'* and 1 *Selour* 1368, 129; *pro ridell' d'no Priori* 1379, 588; *le redell' pro . . . altari* 1382, 389; *par de redall* 1394, 135; *Canevas et Ridell.* 1394, 598; *cum redellis et pannis*, *ij redell pro altari*, *j par de Rydellis* 1397, 445; *anulis pro ridellis* 1405, 400; 1 *eylour* [= *sylour*] 3 *Ryddell'* 1427, 709; *Riddels ejusdem secte*, *iij Ridellez* 1464, 639 'curtain' (OF *ridel*).

(2) Spellings of *ũ*·.

DAssR: *Merewude, Harewude* 1235, 82, 86; *Ewenwode, Wudingfelde, Euenewde* 1242, 39, 43, 48.

DAR: II. *welhousdore*, 1354, 555; *Petehousdore* 1356, 558; (for the spelling-practice cf. *ibid. spone* 'spoon', *sede* 'seed', *Pete-* 'peat', *poleax* — *swyn-*); *trapdure* 1423, 271; *doorbandez* 1448, 237; (*fyrreboordez, laad* 'load'); *doŕebandez, dorecrokez* 1449, 239; (*ũ:u*; *ō:o* and *oo*; terminal *e* not regularly used); *dorstothez* 1453, 634; (no *æ*); *dorestothez* 1472, 94 (: *unyons* 'onions', *storehouse*); *dorebandez* 1479, 96 (: *Turfspade, soteltez* OF *sotilleté*; *ō:o*); *dorechekez* 1492, 249; *dorestothis* 1516, 254 (*ũ:u*; *storehouse*); *durecroks* 1524, 296, *durbandes* *ibid.* (: *crokis, croks*; *storehowse*); *dore, stuythes, dores, hal dore, heckedore, dorres* 1541, 720—1 (: *futher* 'load' *passim*, *bord(e)* *passim*); *qerdoyr* 1541, 743 (: *loyde*; cf., too, *sheytt* 'sheet', *gayttes* 'gates'); *y^e stoorhouse dors* 1576, 717; *doore* 1589, 733 (*boord*); 1592, 735 (*coorde* 'cord').

Dovecotegarth 1467, 92; 2 *dooes* 1557, 715; *y^e douescott* 1593, 735.¹⁾

walnottes 1357, 124; *walnotes* c. 1358, 561; (cf. *Wolhouse, Grotes* 'groats' < *grō-tes*); *Walsnotes* 1368, 574 (*ũ:u*); *wallnottis* 1403, 394 (*ũ:u*, *ō:o* or *u*); *notmoges*

¹⁾ The etymology of this word has not been satisfactorily established. It seems that most scholars derive it from OE *dūfe* (Skeat, Holthausen). NED says '< OE *dufe*, not found (unless as first element in *dūfe-doppa*)' and thus rather presupposes a short vowel. — It is true that most ME spellings — *doufe, dowfe, douve* etc. — point to OE *ū*, but the received spelling and especially the early *dofe* (Cursor M., c. 1300) and the later *doyf* (16th cent.), *doffe* (17th cent.) must be accounted for by assuming an earlier '*dūve*'. This form need not be original OE, as is suggested by Luick, *Unters* § 552 (*dūfe* related by gradation to *dūfe*). It might arise, in early ME times, under weak stress or before consonant groups in compounds. In *Hist. Gramm.*, § 389, Luick ascribes the short vowel in *dufe* to a shortening process, affecting *u* in open syllables in front of *z, v, m*, and supposed to have taken place before the 13th cent. in West Midland and parts of the North.

1524, 295 (ME *notemuge* < OF *mugue*). OMerc. *walh-hnutu*.

Spurris 1513, 663; *spurres* 1536, 697; (OE *spura*).

stothez etc., occurring several times as the second member of compounds given above under *dore*, goes back to OE *studu*, *stupu* 'a post'. It appears as a simplex in 1507, 104: *Burdarum*, *Studys et le Walplatis*.

Wodladpen 1292?, 490 (: -mor 'moor' *passim*); *Wodyard* 1309, 7; *Wodyarde* 1318, 11 (: *muscles*, *Zucar*, *congres* 'sea-eels' < OF *congre*); *wodecartes* 1330, 518 (: *Zukar*); *Wodyard* (2) 1333, 29 (*ū:u*, as in *numbles* (*passim*) 'internal organs of deer', or *ou*, in *Coungres* (*passim*)); *Wodyard* 1333, 523 (*ū:u*); *wodkart* c. 1341, 541; 1341, 542; (: *sponbrod*); *Wodegarth(e)*, -yard, *Wodyard* 1343, 39—40 (*ū:u*, but *o* in *congres*); *wodekokes* 1347, 41 (: *morehennes*, *tele* 'teal'); *wodecart* 1347, 545 (*ū:u*); *wodcarte* 1348, 549 (*ū:u*; *fotmale*); *wodeladpenys* 1351, 552 (*ū:u*); *wodeax*, -garth 1356, 557—8 (see under *Petehousdore* above); *wodeyard* c. 1357, 560 (*ū:u*; *spons* 'spoons'); *wodcartes* (3) 1360, 562 (: *Bulfote* pers. n., *Morehousfeld*); *wodcokkes* 1366, 45; *wodecartes* 1366, 569; *wodcarts* 1377, 586 (*ū:u*; *Grenwax*); *wodcoks* 1378, 578 (: *Dubelsols*, *Goshauk*); *wodcokis* 1390, 597 (: *bunche*, *rungstoures*, *curlews*, *curans*, *Plumer*); *wod* 1404, 397 (: *muk*; *croke*, *crok*, *cruk* (3), *burde* 'board', *brodgeys*, *fothyr*, *fot*, *wedhokys*, *studmer*; *stoke* 'stock', *skepe* 'skep, box'); *Grenewode* 1416, 614 (: *wursted*, *landmalebok*, *spone*); *wodkokkes* 1422, 59—61 (3) (: *Turbot*, *cunger*); *fyerwood* 1557, 715; *the highe wodde* 1593, 736 (OE *wudu*).

III. *boterflies* 1365, 128;

Scomur 1316, 513; *W. Skumer* pers. n. 1394, 598; *scommyr*, *scomyr* 1459, 88—9; *skumer* 1525, 108 (derivative from *scōm*, *scūm* < Scn *skūm*, see Morsbach, p. 67).

2 *scuteles* 1360, 563; 2 *scotlys* 1404, 398; in 2 *scutellis*, *scoteles* 1415, 225—6; *ij schewtells* 1441, 275; *scuttelles* 1483, 415, *scotellez* 1495, 653 (OE *scutel*).

FP:

I. *stothis* 1411; *dorestothez*, *dorebandis* 1481—2; *-wod* 1407—8.

CoP:

I. *cumyng* 1429, 104; *come*, *commynge* 1441; 116.

loofe 'love' sb. 1444, 153 (: *good*, *moore* 'more', *whoose*, *wherefoor*); *beloved*, *luffe* sb. 1456, 181 (*good(e)*, *moor* 'more', *whoos*, *doo*; *bun* 'bound', *suld* 'should'); *beloved*, *luffre*, *luffer* 1456, 182—3 (: *ū* : *u*, but *o* in *governe*; *ō* : *oo*, *ou* in *souner* and *o—e* in *prove*); *luff* sb. 1471, 222; 1472, 225.

sonnez 'sons' 1442, 133.

Heruode, *Denewod*, *wod*, *wode*, *woddys*, (2) 1429, 104.

HoB:

I. *duyrbands* (3), *Dowrebands* 73; *A. Spoyr* pers. n. 81; *stoyz*, *stoithez* 173, *stoythez* 270 (OE *stupu*).

GA: *a peice of wodd* 1626, 55.

It will be observed that the above material agrees very closely with that collected by Luick in *Studien*. As to the general interpretation of the spellings, it is evident that Luick's conclusions will apply also to the Durham material. In *Hist. Gramm.* (1920) L. still holds the views propounded in his earlier works, and the concise account there given (§ 393) may be regarded as containing the chief results at which modern research has yet arrived in the elucidation of this problem. A discussion in this place might therefore seem superfluous. It will be admitted, however, that there are still several points awaiting further explanation. It is not definitely proved what was the quality of the lengthened vowels, nor, if it really was /ē, o/, how this conspicuous change of quality came about. The suggestions in regard to these problems that have occurred to me during the treatment of the present material will be presented on the following pages. I shall then give a

fairly detailed account of the effects of the lengthening within our district, as evidenced by old spellings and modern pronunciations.

(3) *Phonetic theory.*

It has been supposed (see Jespersen, *MEG*, p. 115) that the result of the lengthening was /i, ū/, which sounds were naturally written *e, o* after the raising of /e, ȝ/ to /i, u/. If applied to the North. development, this view would imply that *ȝe* was immediately changed to /ij/, but the explanation of such a development meets with phonetical difficulties, and the natural interpretation of the *o* used to express the lengthened vowel is that it was identical with orig. *ō*.

We shall now proceed to consider the problem from a purely phonetic point of view. As in a preceding chapter, the results of Dr. Meyer's vowel measurements will serve as a basis (*Engl. Lautdauer*).

On page 39, *o. c.*, we learn that in the series of lax vowels *i, u*, and in that of the tense, *ī, ū* are the shortest. Next come *e, ε, ɔ* and *ei, ou* resp., whereas *æ* and *ɔː, aː* are, as a rule, the longest. From these facts is deduced the following law: "die dauer des vokals ist unter sonst gleichen umständen abhängig von der höhe der für den vokal erforderlichen zungenstellung : je höher diese, um so kürzer der vokal". Seeing, then, that short quantity is a constituent feature of *i* and *u*, as compared with the other vowels, we must not be surprised to find that these two vowels withstood the lengthening tendency longer than *e, o, a*. The ultimate origin of the lengthening tendency is apparently to be referred to the workings of speech rhythm. Thus Luick, for example, explains the phenomenon as a process of attraction, words of the type *fā-ran* being conformed to the type *wæ-ron* (*Anglia* XX, 335 ff.).

As to the phonetic law just quoted, M. gives this explanation: "Es ist klar, dass es mit einer grösseren energiewendung verbunden ist, vokale mit hoher zungenstellung hervorzubringen als solche mit niedriger. In der verlängerung der vokale mit niedriger zungenstellung bzw. der kürzung der vokale mit hoher zungenstellung dürfen wir demnach wohl mit recht das natürliche bestreben erblicken, die energiewendung für die verschiedenen vokaleigenschaften gleichzugestalten." Here we meet with a fundamental consideration in the dynamics of speech, viz. the amount of energy required for the production of a given sound. The total expenditure of energy in the articulation of a vowel is determined by the following factors: — (1) duration (quantity) — (2) elevation of the tongue — (3) tension of the tongue — (4) the muscular action of respiratory organs and larynx (*o. c.* p. 46, footnote; the expenditure of breath depends on the last and the first of these factors). If we analyze [i] from these points of view we find that it has the following characteristics — (1) short quantity — (2) high position of tongue — (3) reduced tension of tongue — (4) large expenditure of breath. This last factor has been measured by Roudet, who has shown that high vowels require the largest amount of breath (quoted by M., pp. 39—40). A lengthening of the vowel means an increase of the first and the third factors. According to the general law of energy, it seems a natural process that this increase should be brought about by shifting a certain amount of energy from the stronger factors on to the two others. The result will be a tense vowel with middle position of the tongue and a lower expenditure of breath, i. e. *e*. In quite the same way /u/ is transformed into [ū¹⁾].

¹⁾ Inversely an *ē*, if subjected to some shortening influence, will turn into *e*, a process amply exemplified in North. English (Ch. X, c.) It would be interesting also to work out the influence of this law on the shortenings of orig. *ō*, esp. in Scotch and Southern English.

It is supposed here that the same amount of energy is required for i and e , $\tilde{u}$ and $\bar{o}$. This does not look very plausible at first, mainly because we are apt to underrate the fourth factor in the pronunciation of i , $\tilde{u}$, as compared with e , $\bar{o}$. Roudet hints at this when he states that French vowels which display a considerable divergence as to expenditure of breath are felt to be pronounced with equal energy. An additional point is also to be taken into consideration. In the above analysis we were concerned with modern $[i, u]$, but eME i , $\tilde{u}$ in the position now under treatment, i. e. in an open syllable followed by a single (= short) cons., may well have had a different character. A modern Swedish dialect familiar to me, the Rättvik dialect of Dalarna, still preserves the sound-sequence short vowel in open syllable + short cons.; it has, e. g., the exact equivalent of eME *li-ve(n)* 'to live', corresponding to stand. Swed. $[l\acute{e}va]$ and pron. $[l\acute{a}'vo]$ ($<$ OScn *li-va*). In this dialectal sound-group the vowel is decidedly short, but it is uttered in a peculiarly crisp way, very striking to the ear of one speaking the standard language, and difficult to imitate. An analysis of the vowel shows that the characteristic acoustic effect is brought about by an unusually strong muscular action of the respiratory organs and the larynx. We are led to suspect that this old-fashioned type of articulation prevailed also in eME words of the same structure, at least in the North. If this be right, it will be clear that in the pronunciation of i , $\tilde{u}$ the considerable amount of energy in the fourth factor would make the sum of the i , $\tilde{u}$ factors equal to that of the e , $\bar{o}$ factors.

It goes without saying that this law will account for the fact that i , $\tilde{u}$ when lengthened were lowered at the same time, so as to be quite distinct from e , $\bar{o}$, approaching e , $\bar{o}$, and finally converging with these two sounds or their equivalents (cf. Luick, *Gramm.* pp. 399, 401).

It is probable that the lengthening of $\ddot{a}$ was also combined with a lowering of the tongue, although here the modification was kept within a naturally restricted latitude. The results of the lengthening is not to be distinguished from old $\bar{a}$.

It follows from the above that the vowels need not necessarily have been open when the lengthening took place (cf. Luick, *l. c.*).

If we explain the ME lengthening in this way, the question arises: Why did not the OE lengthening of short vowels before cons. combinations affect the quality of the vowels? An answer to this question is easily found if we accept the theory of this process propounded by Luick, *Gramm.* p. 245. The immediate basis of the lengthening is a sound-group of the structure short vowel + long liquid, nasal, or r + voiced stop, as in *blīnd*. Now a shift of energy took place within the syllable, not within the vowel. The energy required for the lengthening was taken from the overemphasised cons., and thus the process could be carried out without infringing upon any element of the vowel.

(4) *The effects of the lengthening tendency within the Durham dialect.*

I give first a summary of the material. The following tables state the number of spellings of each of the following types:

(I) e -words: (1) *e*, *ei*, *ey* — (2) *i*, *y* followed by single consonant — (3) *i*, *y* followed by double consonant;

(II) $\ddot{u}$ -words: (1) *oy*, *oi*, *uy*, *ou*, *ow*, *oo* — (2) *o* — (3) *u* followed by single cons. — (4) *u* followed by double consonant.

(I)	(1)	(2)	(3)		(1)	(2)	(3)
<i>bridilbetez</i>	1	—	5	<i>fyly</i>	—	2	—
<i>seve</i>	11	7	3	<i>frethyngs</i>	3	1	—
<i>qweke</i>	1	2	2	<i>pyling</i>	—	2	—
<i>weke</i> 'wick'	5	2	1	<i>wethy</i>	1	1	—
<i>wekes</i> 'weeks'	1	—	—	<i>smethy</i>	2	2	—
<i>spetys</i>	4	—	—	<i>Swelyng-</i>	1	—	1
<i>wete</i>	8	—	3	<i>sekyls</i>	1	—	—
<i>geve, gyff, giffes</i>	1	—	6	<i>besynesse</i>	2	—	—
<i>gifand</i>	—	3	—	<i>besily</i>	1	—	—
<i>gewyn</i> (7), <i>Yeven</i>				<i>mekle</i>	1	3	—
(1), <i>giffen</i>	8	—	1	<i>creaple</i>	1	1	2
<i>leveying</i> 'living'	3	—	—	<i>wedowe</i>	5	—	—
<i>wrethyn</i>	1	—	—	<i>sterap</i>	4	5	4
<i>wretyn</i>	10	14	—				
Number of words 26.				Total	76	45	28
						73	

(II)	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)		(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
<i>wode</i>	1	41	3	—	<i>come</i>	—	1	—	—
<i>dore</i>	7	18	3	—	<i>cumyng</i>	—	1	1	—
<i>dove</i>	2	1	—	—	<i>beloved</i>	—	2	—	—
<i>-notes, not-</i>	—	5	—	—	<i>luffer,</i>				
<i>loofe</i> sb.	1	—	—	2	<i>luffre</i>	—	—	—	2
<i>sonnez</i>	—	1	—	—	<i>boterflies</i>	—	1	—	—
<i>spoyr</i>	1	—	—	2	<i>scomer</i>	—	3	2	—
<i>stothez</i>	4	5	1	—	<i>scoteles</i>	—	3	2	1
Number of words 15.					Total	16	82	12	7

(1) Among the spellings in the first group of the *i*-words there are a few with double cons., representing a hybrid type, viz. *spettys* CoAcc 1446, *seiffe* DAR 1495, *seyff* FP 1465, *seyffis* 1482, *mcle seyff* JR 1491.

Instances of *e* for orig. *i* in closed syllable are rare in our texts. I have noted *qwesshyns* 'cushions' DAR 1472,

246, spelt on the model of words with orig. *e* raised to *i*/ in front of certain consonants (see Ch. X), and, occasionally, *es* for *is* in *CoP*, where *i*/ has changed into *e*/ under weak stress. *Sestres* *DAR* 1341, 542, *Cestres* 1347, 546 'cisterns' (OF *cisterne*) are due to the same habit of spelling as *qwesshyns*, or else to AN spellings in *e*. This remarkable regularity in the spelling of *i*/ will make an *e* for *i* in open syllable an almost infallible test of the lengthening.

The mod. pronunciations are quoted from EDG. In judging the spellings it should be kept in mind that an *i*-form need not necessarily imply that the scribe pronounced *i*/, seeing that *i*/ < *e* is sometimes spelt *i*.

bridilbetez */bitiz/*, *Dur* [*bit*]. The many instances of type (3) show that */bit/* was the current pron., but the *e*-form suggests the existence of a regularly lengthened plural. It is a simplex type, occasionally used in a compound here, and now fallen into disuse.

seve */siv/*, *sDur* [*siv*]. The *ff* of the hybrid spellings need not imply short vowel, for *f* is often doubled after long vowel (*knyffe* etc.). The majority of the spellings of group (2) and (3) suggest the short vowel now prevailing in StE.

weke, wick 'wick' */i, i/*, *Dur* [*wik*], but the lengthened form survives in other North. diall., *nNhb*, *mCum*, *wWm*, etc.

wekes, */wiks/* 'weeks', *nDur* [*wik*], *sDur* [*wik*].

spetys */spitiz/*, but the hybrid *spettys* betrays the existence of an unlengthened or a shortened *spittys*.

wete, witt. Both */wit/* and */wīt/* are current in the writers.

geve, gyff */giv, giv/*, the latter surviving in *nDur* [*gi*, *giv*]; *gifand* and *gevyn* show a sharply defined distribution of the different quantities on the two participles.

leveying /lv-/, nDur [*liv*], but the pron. recorded here is still to be heard in sSc, n & swNhb, n & mCum, etc.

wrethyn, *wretyn* /ɪ/, characteristic type of past part., alternating with the short type *wrytyn* etc. (for details, see Luick, *Gramm.* § 393, Anm. 2).

besynesse, *besily*. In these words the stress conditions were not favourable for a long vowel to develop (or to maintain itself if introduced from the simplex), but the spellings certainly go to prove that the simplex could have a lengthened vowel; now [*bizi*] Dur.

mekle, *mykill*, long and short; the latter form is perhaps preserved in sDur [*mit/*], which may be a blending of vernacular and standard pron., further, as [*mikl*], in parts of Sc, in Wm and snwYks.

creaple, *cryppell*, now [*kripl*] nDur. Too much importance should perhaps not be attached to the isolated *ea*-form in the ill-spelt writings of the Grassmen, but the word has been recorded with long vowel elsewhere (16th cent.; Wyld, *Coll. Engl.*, pp. 131, 141, 246).

wedow(e) /ɪ/, Dur [*widə*]; [*wɪdə*] is still in use in other north. districts, e. g. nNhb, wWm.

For the rest of the words, no further information was available.

There is another group of spellings that may serve to illustrate the operation of the lengthening tendency. OE *hridder* always appears with a full suffix *-el*, *-il* and has occasional *e*-forms: *riddils* DAR 1371, 129; *ridellis* 1375, 583; *ridels* 1383, 593; *1 ridella* 1400, 603; *redyll*, *redyls* 1434, 232; *ridill* 1437, 233; *riddils* 1473, 645; *riddillez* 1454, 150; *rideles* FP 1354, *redill* 1465. Similarly, OE *middel* is written *Medil(ham)* (against usual *midil*) FP 1395, *medyl(somez)* 1465, and ME *wimbil* appears as *wemyll* *ibid.* The current pron. of all these words was no doubt /ɪ/, but as the vowel came to stand in open syllable, it

was affected occasionally by the lengthening tendency. Cf. *Elezabeth* DAR 1497, 250. Of doubtful interpretation are *candylsteke* JR 1491, 129 (against usual *-stykke*) and *Whepe-corde* DAR 1362?, 565 (against *Whypcord* 1353, 554, *Qwypcord* 1362, 565 etc.). Such spellings are most easily accounted for if regarded as modelled on the type (*candyl*)=*weke*, mispronounced /*wik*/.

(II) To the list of the *u*-words should be added one spelling in *ew*, *schewtells* DAR 1441. Of the *o*-forms there are some with double cons.: *walnottes* 1357, *wallnottis* 1403, *dorres* 1541, *commynge* 1441, *sonnez* 1442, *scommyr* 1459, *woddys* 1429, *wodde* 1593, *wodd* 1626.

In the interpretation of the spellings of *ũ*-, the use of *o* generally gives little or no guidance by itself, owing to its frequent use for /*ũ*/ . On the other hand, the force of the spellings of group (1) is all but unquestionable.

wode. The forms with retained *u* are all from *DAssR*. *Ewenwode* in the later of these rolls (1242), where *o* is never used for /*ũ*/, this sound being written *u* (sometimes *v*, *w*), is as good an evidence of long quantity as can be desired.¹⁾

Euenewde ib. is to be divided *Euene-wde* (cf. *Wlsingham* 40, 41, *Heiwrthe*, *passim*, and (from Mawer) *Wdum* c. 1150, *Acwde* 1226). The lengthened form properly hails from the inflected form of the simplex, and we may be sure that it is not used in combination quite so often as is suggested by the spellings. Later on it was successively displaced by the short type (*woddys* 1429 etc.), a fact which is to be ascribed to the comparative rareness of the plural. Mod. pron. [*wud*] Dur. The pron. [*wid*], recorded from different parts of Sc., would seem to represent a

¹⁾ In Mawer's place-name material the form *wode* is found from c. 1214, 1255, 1268, 1278 etc.

shortening of /wȳd/, but may go back to /ū/ (EDG § 100, and cf. see p. 18).

dore, now Dur [duə(r)] + nDur [dɔ(r), doə(r). dɔə(r)]. The mod. types are direct continuations of the standardized 15th and 16th cent. type /dūr/ (*door*-1448 etc.), or of dialectal /dur/, not lengthened. The two types converged and cannot be kept apart in their later stages of development (see p. 123). The genuine North. lengthened type, represented by earlier *dore*-, *dure*-forms, is preserved in [diuə(r)] parts of Cum, Wm, Yks, [diuer] parts of Cum, Wm, [diə(r)] parts of Cum, Yks, etc.

Dove 1467 is the genuine lengthened form, preserved in [diəv] mYks. Present nDur [duv] is prob. StE.

dooes 1557 and *doues* 1593 /dū/ represent a special development the characteristic feature of which is the vocalization of *v* and its coalescence with the preceding vowel. Luick, *Gramm.* § 428, treats this process from a general point of view. In this place we shall have to ascertain the probable development of such words as eME *gī-ve(n)*, *dū-ve*, *abū-ven*, *lū-ve(n)*.

As a rule, the process took place in the group short vowel + *v* + cons. (stop, *r* + stop, liquid, nasal), the result being a diphthong in *-u* or a compensative lengthening of the vowel. If the vowel was long at the time of the coalescence, the *v* disappeared without leaving any trace. To account for Dur [gɪ] 'give' and *dooes* etc. we shall have to assume that the coalescence took place within forms in *-s* /givz/, /duvz/, both being originally short types. As regards pres. Dur [əbiən], the starting-form was /əbȳvn/, resulting in /əbȳn/ > [əbiən]. An exact parallel to this is afforded by some spellings of OE *sufle* 'obsonium': *soulepen* DAR 1292, 492; *souuelp* 1310, 509; *Souelpen*. 1313, 513; *sulsilver* 1532, 197. In our dialect the suffix had a full vowel at the start and the development was this: *sū-vel* > *sōval* > *sōvl* > *sȳvl* > *sȳl*. The Standard Engl. substi-

tution for this type is *sool* (see Glossary to *FP*). The inflected form would develop thus: *suvl-* > *suyl-* > *sūl-*, written *sowl* (Finch. Gloss.). The following earlier spellings probably belong to this type: *Soulsilure* DAR 1349, 551; *Soulesilver* 1373, 579; *soulsilver* FP 1360—1, 1372—3; *soulesilver* 1361—2.

Since the Durham development of OE *scofl* will shed some light on the history of the preceding words, I beg leave to adduce some material with commentary. The pres. Dur pronunciations are [*fiul*, *ful*, *ful*] + nDur [*fuvl*]. The first type evidently goes back to older $\bar{f} < \bar{v}$. Spellings: *DAR sholez* 1441, 712; *Sholyrnez* 1451, 147; *shole(z)* 1454, 149; 1480, 97; *shulys* 1517, 293; *shole irons* 1525, 108; — *FP szoyll'* 1397; *schoyd schoyll*, *schoyllis*, *schoyllz*, *scholys* 1465, *schole* 1481—2; — *JR sholes* 1362, *shole*, *shulez* 1491, 126—7, *shole*, *scoyllys* 1491, 129—30; — *WR scholys* 1394, *schollys* 1505. The development implied by these spellings is exactly parallel to the first type of *sufel* and cannot be explained unless we assume that the OE combinations *uyl*, *ofl* converged into $\bar{u}vel$, say in eME times, before the lengthening tendency began to work: *shū-vel* > *shōvel* > *shūvl* > *shūl*, the last stage being reached by the latter half of the 14th century¹). The mod. [*fūl*, *ful*] are prob. nothing but StE substitutions for genuine [*fūl*], written *shool* DAR 1534, 284; *shoull* 1541, 742; and nDur [*fuvl*] may have been directly introduced from StE. If it were not, we should expect to find it also in sDur. It appears later in the texts than the $\bar{f}$ -type: *shovell* DAR 1406, 606; *shouill* 1411, 139; *shovylyrnes* 1412, 609; *shovele* c. 1430, 60; *schowyll* JR 1491, 129—30. Both types, however, are easily derived from internal development of the unlengthened plural *shuveles*, alternatively developed into *shuvlz* > *shulz*: — sg. *shul*. In the North, the OE word *ofn* ex-

¹) Cf. mod. Sc. [*fyl*, *fyl*, *fil*] and the compromise [*fūvl*], for which see [*jubn*] below.

hibits, in part at least, the same development: MNhbn $\bar{o}n$ > MSc $o\eta ne$, $\bar{\eta}ne$ (Luick, l. c.) > sSc $[\bar{o}n]$. The Dur form [$jubn$] (cf. [$juv\eta n$] mCum) shows a complication, the earlier vocalized type having been modified under the influence of a type with retained spirant. The southern development of *scofl*, *ofn* requires the same labial modification of OE *o* > $\bar{u}$ in the groups *ofl*, *ofn* (cf. Horn, *Ne. Gramm.* § 61, Anm.; Jespersen, *MEG* 11.65). — The group *ofr* had another development: *owr* WCorr c. 1459, 246; *mor* or 'moreover' 1461, 246; nDur [$oua(r)$].

It will not be too bold to regard *notes* as testifying to the occurrence of a lengthened type of this word, although, it is true, it is not likely to be the one used in the compound found in our texts, witness the double cons. in some spellings. Mod. nDur [nut] and Sc [nit] are ambiguous (see *wode*).

loofe, *luff* sb., *luffer*, *beloved*. Wright gives [luv] Dur, but unfortunately makes no distinction as to noun and verb. It is to be expected that the short type should be peculiar to the noun, whereas the lengthened form prevailed with the verb (Luick, *Studien*, *passim*). *luff*, *luffer* are decidedly short types; *loofe* may be long (cf. the parallel spellings), i. e. a standardized $\bar{\eta}$ -type; *beloved* is preferably long. The genuine lengthened form is preserved in [$liuv$] n & mCum, [$ljuv$] seNhb. The short type with vocalized *v* is represented by [$\bar{lu}$] sAyr, Peb.

sonnes / $s\bar{u}nz$ /, Dur [sun]. The long type appears as [$si\bar{a}n$] mYks; Sc [sin] ambiguous (see *wode*).

Spoyr, *spurris*. On account of the irregular spelling of the *HoB* records the *oy*-form cannot alone serve as a criterion of lengthening.

stothez. The lengthening is well evidenced here. The one instance in *u* and *d* is ambiguous, since *u* may stand for / $\bar{u}$ / in this period.

come, *commynge*, *cummyng*. Mod. [kum] Dur + [$k\bar{u}m$]

nDur prove that both types developed and have maintained themselves. The StE substitution [kūm] occurs also in nNhb, mCum.

boter is now Dur [butə(r)]. Wright gives no lengthened form of this word, and thus there is no evidence of lengthening (cf. *Bottirlawe* 1251, *Butterlawe* 1428, *Buttrewik* 1314 — Mawer).

Not one spelling of *scomer* speaks unequivocally in favour of lengthening, while one, *scommyr* 1459, is certainly short.

ew in *schewtells* 1441 would imply /i/, but the spelling does not look trustworthy, and *scoteles*, *scotlys* have short vowel.

Besides Dur [əbian] we find nDur [əbuʊ], a clear introduction from rec. speech.

The above survey shows that the lengthened types were more common in our records than they are in the living dialect. I think it may be said that in the older period double forms were in use in the case of most of the words in question, whereas now the long type is preserved only in *sieve*, *week* (~ short type), *door*, *come*, *above* (~ short type)

(5) *The causes of the low proportion and the ultimate decline of the lengthened forms.*

The low proportion of lengthened types of *i*-, *u*-words, as compared with the number of long types of *e*-, *o*-, *a*-words, is assigned by Luick to the fact that the lengthening of *i*, *u* was delayed till after the *e*-apocope, the number of word-forms where the vowel stood in open syllable being thus considerably reduced. It seems, however, that the following considerations will make it questionable whether this hypothesis is quite to the point. There was

a group of words that could be regularly lengthened only in the plural: *stoves* (but *stüf* sg.). Here belong some common neuters, *dal*, *col*, *hol*, *yok*, and a few adjectives. In these words, then, the lengthening was checked in quite the same way as in the disyllabic Northern words after the *e*-apocope (*sifes*—*sif*). And yet the majority of words belonging to this group appear in pres. Engl. with lengthened forms: *whale*, *blade*, *dale*, *grave*, *crane*, *bead*, *seal* the animal, *coal*, *hole*, *mote*, *yoke*; *bare*, *late*, *tame*, *lame* (short type in *staff*, *God*, *black*). Now if the absence of final *-e* in the uninflected forms of these words proves to have had so little definite influence on the effects of the lengthening, it becomes evident that the *e*-apocope could not by itself be the cause of the low proportion of long types of *i*-, *u*-words.

In ME times there were phonetic movements afoot that made for reducing the quantity of originally long vowels, and these of course would counteract in a positive way the lengthening of short vowels. We shall have to trace here, as far as possible, the workings of these well-known factors within the dialect. The first vowel of three-syllabled words was shortened. Accordingly, it is not to be expected that such forms as *sadiles*, *sikeles*, *widowes*, *cripeles*, *swilingpan*, *bisily*, *business* should have their first vowel lengthened. Further, long vowels were shortened before certain cons. groups and under weak stress. These tendencies would work with great efficacy in compounds, and our texts abound in shortenings of these two types. They would altogether check the lengthening in words such as *colrak*, *langspit*, *melsif*, when once their etymological structure was lost from view, and this was and is very often the case in popular speech. At times, however, the connexion with the simplex forms would be re-established, as in *cowlrayk* 1465, *melesefe* 1378, *mele seyff* 1491. —

Likewise, the common inflexional type *sadles* would remain short.

It is apparent, however, that these shortening factors do not suffice to account for the vast number of shortenings that have taken place since eME times. It has been suggested that the cons. following the vowel has played a prominent part in these changes. As a matter of fact, this has been clearly confirmed by Dr. Meyer's instrumental measurings of vowel quantities. Certain cons., esp. *l* and tense stops (*p, t, k*), exercise a shortening influence on the preceding vowel, whereas others, esp. slack fricatives (*z, v*), and *d*, work in the opposite direction. The average length of a tense vowel before the first group is 25.2 hundredths of a second, before */z, v, d/* it is 37.6. The corresponding figures for the lax vowel are 17.7 and 28.9 (*Engl. Lautdauer*, p. 44). Jespersen, *MEG* 4.216, has pointed out the comparatively great number of lengthenings of *i-*, *u-* before *v*: *weevil, evil, give, live, sieve, above, love*. We shall not be wrong if we see here the preservative or lengthening influence of the lax fricative on the preceding vowel. Inversely we may be entitled to postulate a preventive or shortening effect of the tense stops *p, t, k*, to which many of the *i*-words at least would be exposed.

The effects of the shortening tendencies on original vowel lengths have been carefully registered by Hackmann in *Kürzung langer Tonvokale* (in *Studien zur engl. Phil.* X), and Jespersen gives a list of shortenings in compounds (*MEG* 4.34 ff.). We see there that they must have possessed no little intensity. In this place we shall only illustrate to what extent they have interfered with the lengthening of *e-*, *o-*, *a-*. Luick, *Gramm.* p. 404, gives a list of such ME short types of two or three syllables as survive in pres. StE (*father* — *hēvi* — *gōten* — *rīkenen*); they are some 30 in number. The following list comprises some instances of fluctuation between long and short types in

our texts, and also some examples of words exhibiting the short type only.

mettecorn DAR 1385, 391 — *metebord* 1485, 99, Dur [mit]; *knedyngtrow* JR 1408 — *kneddyngtobys*, *strowys* CoAcc 1446, nDur [ned, nɪd]; *yokks* FP 1411, *yokkes*, -is WR 1370, 1378 — *yokys*, *heydyokys* FP 1465, sNhb [jok]; *collrak* DAR 1404, 397, *rakkez* 1459, 89, *rakks* FP 1411, JR 1480 — *cowylrayk*, *rakys* FP 1465, nDur [kəəl, kōl], sDur [kuəl, kwuəl], short type in parts of Sc; *sklattes* FP 1450, *sklatt*, *sklattyng* DAR 1541, 721, *Sclatter* FP 1466 — *sclatis* FP 1307, *Sclater* DAR 1433, 305, 'slate' etc.; *faldyng yatt* DAR 1507, 659 — *flodyates* 1333, 525, *yate* GA 1579, 9 etc., *yayte* 1580, 10 etc., *yeat* [jit] 1580, 10 etc., *yeet* 1632, 58; *Brood Close yett* (< jɛt < jat) 1630, 57, *moure yett* 1673, 78; *gayte* 1580, 10 etc., *get* (< gɛt < gāt) 1671, 77; nDur [geət, giat, giət, gjet, jet], sDur [giət, jat, jet, jit]; *Wardell* pl. n. FP 1472—3 — *Werdale* 1471—2; sDur [diəl], short type in nDur etc. [dɛl], nNhb etc. [del]; *Fleshergatt* — *Sadlergate* DAR 1517, 294. OE *hlædel* is *lad-dels* FP 1495—6, now Dur [lɛdl], OE *sadol* is *Bagsadle* DAR 1330, 518, *cart sadyll* 1404, 396 etc., now short — [sadl] — in sw & sNhb, Cum, Wm etc., but [sedl] in parts of Sc. OE *watel* is represented only by a short type *wat-teles* 1373, 580; similarly OE *hæsel* in *Hesilden*, pl. n., *passim*; the appellative is now [hezl] nDur.

It is a point worth noticing that the number of lengthened types of disyllabic words in South. Engl. was greater in the older period than it is now. Note *ea* in *feather*, *heavy*; there is orthoepic evidence of length in *father*, *water*, *heaven*. This implies that the tendency to lengthening was of temporary duration, whereas the shortening factors kept working with unabated force. This observation applies also to the suffigal *i*-words in the dialect. The long type is fairly well recorded in our texts, but it is found in very few instances in the pres. dial. — The

u-group does not seem to have developed any lengthened types at all.

We may now venture to make a general statement as to the lengthening of *e*, *ū*. The resistance to the lengthening tendency originating from the quality of the vowel was of primary importance. When at last, under favourable conditions, lengthened types did arise, the result was that a comparatively small number of long types had to compete with a larger number of short types and were at the same time confronted with reactionary forces which by then had apparently reached a high pitch of intensity. In my opinion, this will prove an adequate answer to the questions put forward in this section.

As to the appearance of /*ɪ*/ for *ī* in French words, I beg to refer to Luick's detailed account in *Studien*, pp. 131 ff.

(6) OE *i*-, *u*- before *ʒ*...

(Luick, *Studien*, pp. 145—182; *Gramm.* §§ 400—2).

Spellings:

nene 'nine' WCorr 1459, 244 (OE *nizon*); *100 waltele* 'walltiles' DAR 1440, 410 (OE *tizol*); *Swynsties* DAR 1469, 93 (OE *stizu*); *the style* 'stile' GA 1586, 13; *a staile* 1630, 57 (OE *stizel*).

ij apri, *v schewys*, *xxiij hogis* CoAcc 1446 (OE *suzu*); *coleclath* DAR 1407, 401; *couleclath* 1428, 709; *cooles* 1565, 716 (OE *cuz(e)le*); *wyelfoyle* HoB 215 (OE *fuzol*).

To this I add *foresta de Lowes* 1329, said by Mawer to go back to ONhbn *luh*, used in the Lindisf. Gospels as a gloss of L. *fretum* and *stagnum*, and in ME = lake or pool. In NE times it is called »the Forest of *Loughes*«. It was so named' from the Nthb. *loughs* or lakes (in sw. Nthbld). The sing. form seems to occur in the following place-names: *Loughborgh* FP 1356—7, *Louyffh* CoAcc 1374, *Lowgh* used as a pers. n.) FP 1411.

The form *nene* /*n̥n̥*/ is the result of the development eME **niȝene* > **nihne* > **nihn* > *nighen* > *nēghen* > /*n̥n̥*/, preserved, as [*n̥n̥*], in nWm, m & nmYks. The pres. Dur [*nein*] is due to a development *niȝene* > *niȝen* > /*n̥n̥*/. Whether it is dialectal or not cannot be decided from the present material. OE *stizel*, *tiȝol* exhibit the same developments; /*tēl*/ is represented by *-tele* 1440, and /*st̥l̥*/ by [*st̥l̥*] mCum, Wm, parts of Yks., /*st̥l̥*/ by the GA forms and by [*steil*] sDur, me. se. sw. & sNhb, nnwYks, etc. In the 1469 *-sties* we find the latter type of development.

The mod. pronunciations of OE *fuzol* are [*faul*] nDur, [*fiul*, *fəul*] sDur. The origin of [*fiul*] is unmistakable, since in sDur [*iu*] goes back to ME *eu*, *iu* (ME *ō* is [*iə*]). The development is *fuzel* > *fōȝel* > *fōwel* > *fȳual* > *fiul* (Gramm. § 402.2, *Studien* p. 171, and cf. p. 102), i. e. Luick's type II. The form [*fəul*] represents L.'s type I: *fūzoles* > *fūzeles* > *fūles*:— *fūl*, and may well be genuinely dialectal. The nDur pron. is a recent importation from received speech. The *HoB* spelling means /*fūl*/. — The CoAcc form of *suȝu* is a regular type II with phonetic spelling of /*iu*/, preserved in [*siu*], recorded from parts of Cum, Wm, and Yks. For Dur [*sū*], cf. /*fūl*/ above. — The spelling *cole-* 1407 can mean nothing but /*k̥l̥*/, and its development is parallel to that of **niȝene*—*nene*. The origin of the later forms, pron. /*ū*/ (type I), cannot be settled, there being no old spellings of the type to go upon.

As regards *Lowes*, I am not in a position to verify the etymology, but if we consider the later variants, there can be little doubt that we have to start from a form *lūȝes* developed into *lōȝes* > *lōwes*. If this pure plural type had been continued, it would have appeared as *Lewes*; it was, however, displaced by the hybrid or mixed type *Loughes*, appearing also in the singulars from 1374 and 1411 and in the appellative *lough*. Cf. *ōh*, *ōȝ*.

X.

Combinative changes of eME $\tilde{e}$, $\bar{e}$.

(1) $e > i$.

The change $e > i$ in certain consonantal surroundings has been treated by Luick, *Studien* pp. 190 ff. In this place we shall attend especially to the chronology of the changes. For the earliest period I have had to resort to the place-name material collected by Mawer. The spellings are arranged in fair accordance with the categories drawn up by L., and the forms quoted from Mawer are placed at the head of each group.

(a) Before nasals.

Slingelawe 1155 'Sleng's hill', now *Slingley*. Inverse spellings: *Kenemereston* 1254 'Cynemær's farm', now *Kimmerston*; *Brenkeburn* 1313 'Brynca's burn', now *Brinkburn*.

DAssR: *H. le Inglys* 1306, 117.

DAR: *P. Dryng* 1392, 347 (OWScn *drengr* 'young man', ME *dreng*, *dring* 'a free tenant, warrior, man', Björkman p. 208; here a pers. name); *3 hyng lokis* 1512, 105 etc. (North. and Midl. Engl. *hing*, older *heng*, trans. and intrans., from the Scn causal vb *hengja* — NED); *j ling* 1340, 37 etc.; *Spalderlyngg* 134. . , 38, etc. (ME *lenge*, *lienge*, later *ling(e)*; early mod. Du. *lenghe*, *linghe*; not found in OE — NED); *linkis* 1350, 551 (Scn **hlenkr* (*hlekk*)); *Lyntscale* pl. n. c. 1420, 357 (perhaps < *lent* 'lentil'); *Spynnyngmore* pl. n. 1536, 681, etc., now *Spennymoor* (etymology obscure see Mawer, but earlier forms have *e*); *kypstrinnges* 1330, 518, etc. (OE *streng*).

FP: *hygyngs* (= *hyngyngs*) 'hangings' 1465.

JR: *boustynges* 1371, 58 (OE *steng* 'a pole').

WCorr: *end*, *eynd* c. 1447, 241 'end'.

Before drawing any conclusions, we shall have to adduce some supplementary spellings from the Cursor Mundi MSS. (Luick, p. 191). MS. E, from the 13th or beginning

of the 14th cent., has no examples of *i*. MS. C (first half of the 14th c.) has: *hind* (< *hend(e)* 'hend, courteous, gentle'), *hint*, *hing* 'to hang', *Inglis*, *Ingland*, *bink* 'bench'. MS. G (date uncertain, but not later than the beginning of the 15th c.): *hint*, *linth*, *strinth*, *shinschip* (< OE **scend-scipe*), *hing*, *ing(e)land*, *binck*, *blin(c)ked*, *wrink*. MS. F (date uncertain, but at any rate younger than G): *hint*, *hinge*, *Ingeles*, *Ingeland(e)*.

The absence of *i*-forms in the earliest MS. and the appearance and gradual increase of such forms in MSS. C and G, together with the contemporary *i*-spellings in our records, will lead us to the inference that about 1300 the change was not conspicuous enough to be expressed in spelling, and further that in the first half of the 14th c. it was a recognized fact before *ȳ*, *ȳk*, *nd*, *nt* and by the beginning of the 15th c. before the additional groups *ȳp* > *np*, *ndf* > *nf*. Yet we need not therefore disregard the testimony of the early place-name spellings. In the next section we shall find quite indubitable tests of the early date of the *e*-modifications, and if we consider the universal scope of the influence of *ȳ* on a preceding *e*, a pron. *iȳ* of the 1155 spelling will not look improbable. Only it took the new pronunciations a very long time to become sufficiently refined to be used by people likely to be set to copy a work such as the *Cursor Mundi*. It seems probable, then, that the tendency began to work in the 12th c., and then by degrees widened its range in the way illustrated by the C. M. spellings. In the 16th c. the group *enn* had assumed the pron. */iun* : *Spynnnyng*-1546, Lat. *exinnia* (= *exennia*) DAR 1522, 256 (cf. the StE pron. *grin* < *grenn(en)*). In this case the change seems to have been of an occasional nature.

The *WCorr eynd* may stand for */ind/*, although the pron. has not been continued down to mod. times; nDur has *[end]*, but *[ind]* is found in mYks. The C. M. pronun-

ciations of *length*, *strength* are not found in the pres. Dur dial., which has [lenþ, strenþ]. The C. M. *bink* is pron. [biŋk, beŋk, ben/'] Dur, [bent/'] nDur. Thus the wide-spread North. *i*-pronunciations (see Luick, pp. 191—3) have generally been more or less normalized in conformity to rec. pron. In Sc diall. the genuine developments are largely preserved, the vowel appearing as *i*, *u*, *v* (*u* and *v* being due to secondary developments, as, e. g., *twenty* /u/ 'twenty' in a Sc charter from 1424, quoted by Ackermann p. 42, [twɒnti] ne & meSc). Examples: [lɒnþ, biŋk]. In [drin/'] nAyr, [drint/'] wmSc, mYks, we find a blending of dial. /driŋk/ + StE *dren(t)*/, see Ritter p. 73. The local distribution of [win(t)f, wɒn/'] 'wench', Sc and mYks, makes it probable that the word had *i* all over the North (cf. *schin-schip* CM, and see Ritter p. 57), now [wen/'] Dur.

An *m* does not affect the vowel unless it is combined with an additional factor (see below): *Tremeldon* 1197, *Tremdon* 1312, *Trimdon* 1400 (Mawer), and *brimbyl* (*e* < ē, see under (c)).

(b) In various consonantal surroundings.

Histeshope 1153—95, *Hystleyhopeburne* 1260 (perhaps OWScn *hestr* 'horse', used as a nickname), now *Hisehope*; *Sliddeuesse* c. 1050, 1104—8, *Sledwys* 1306, 1316 (OE *Sledda*), now *Sledwick*; *Trellesden* c. 1150, *Trillesden* c. 1200, 1340; *Trollesdale*, *Trullesdale* 1337, *Tirlesden* 1432, *Tursdaile* 1649 (OScn *þræll*), now *Tursdale*; *le whystan* 1292 (prob. OE *hwæt-stān* 'whet-stone'), now *Whitton-stone*. — Inverse spellings: *Crekelawe* c. 1250, *Grekelawe* 1255, *Crekellawe* 1267, *Creckelawe* 1278, etc. (OE *cryc-*), now *Kirkley*; *Hegeley* 1296 (*Hiddesleie* c. 1150, OE *Hiddi*), now *Hedgeley* [hidʒli].

DAR: *dryssyngknyf* 1370, 179, etc., *drissour* 1480, 96 etc., (OF *dresser*); *gittinge* 'getting' 1597, 741; 2 *Grislandes* c. 1357, 558; *J. Grisby* pers. n. 1392, 339 (Scn *gres*); *J.*

Kyrviur pro factura et le kyrvynge 1450, 276, etc.; *le kyrsett(es)* 1448, 276, etc. 'cressets' (OF *cresset*, *craisset*); *stithy* 1378, 587 (Scn *stedī*); *Trillestwyndous* 1472, 94, *le trillessyng* 1474, 95 (ME *trelis*, F *treillis*); *tristellorum* 1338, 200, etc., *tristez* 1512, 105 (OF *treste* -- *trestel* 'a beam or bar with four diverging legs', 'a horse' — NED).

JR: *stythi* 1338 etc.; *tristelli* 1330 etc.

WR: *ȝit* c. 1447, 241 'yet'; *ylls, els* 1461, 245 (OE *elles*).

CoP: *blissid* 'blessed' 1461, 188, etc.; *yhitt* 'yet' 1441, 119, etc.

GA: *infickted pepell* 'infected people' 1636, 63; *For a Risteng of . . .* (2) 'arresting' 1637, 64; *gyrsmen* 1579, 9, etc. (*gras men* 1590, 14, etc.).

The cons. pairs causing the change in the above instances are *r-l*, *r-s*, *l-s*, *g-t*, *j-t*, *k-r*, *t-ð*, and perhaps *l-d* (*Slidde-*). The vowel was also affected by a following *st* and by *ls* (*ylls*), and — in the later period — by *kt* (*infickted*). The tendency would work whenever the vowel was surrounded or followed by cons. requiring a high tongue-position (palatals, dentals, liquids, sibilants), and it was apt to produce a number of casual or individual *i*-pronunciations which never made their way into common speech (*ylls*, *infickted*, *a Risteng*; and see the 'exceptional' *i*-forms noted by Luick, p. 193.). Additional mod. *i*-pronunciations: *chest* nDur, *stretch* Dur.

The modifying cons. did not all work with the same intensity. The earliest *i*-forms belong to the time before 1200. *Trillesden* c. 1200 is a certain instance. The date of the type *kir* < *ker* can be fixed in relation to the change *er* > *ar*. Since in Dur the genuine pron. of this word is [*kirv*], we are in a position to state that the change *ker* > *kir* was practically completed when *e* began to alter to *a* before *r*+cons., and this process falls within the 13th century. Between *r-s*, *r-st*, *r-t/* the modification was of an

early date, too: *tristel*, *dryss*, *gris* DAR and *brist(e)*, *wrichis* in MS. E of C. M. (in this MS. there are yet no modifications of *e* before nasals).

It is assumed by Luick that *bliss* vb owes its *i* to influence from *bliss* sb. The word was included in the present material when it was found that the *i*-form occurs only in those diall. where the operation of the sound-law now under notice is known to have attained the height of its efficiency, viz. Sc., Nh**b**, Dur, Cum, etc.

(c) OE $\bar{e} > \bar{i}$.

There are some instances in which *e* is shortened and changed into *i*. It seems that the change, like that of orig. $e > i$, was essentially combinative (joining groups (a) and (b).) Examples: *Sepewas* 1177, *Schipwas* 1296, now *Sheepwash*; *Schepley*, *Schipley* c. 1250, *Scippele* 1252, etc., now *Shipley* (OE *scēp*); *Redmershill* 1345, *Ridmershale*, *Ridmershill* 1372 (OE *hrood-meres hyll*), now *Redmarshall*. OE *brēost* is spelt *bryst* DAR 1404, 396; nDur [*brist*] (also [*brist*] Dur, perhaps represented by *breyst* DAR c. 1467, 641). OAngl. *bremel* (Bülbring § 192, Anm.) appears as *brimbyl* in MS. G of C. M., preserved chiefly in Sc dialects: [*bruml*, *bröuml*], see under (a). Pres. nDur [*bram(b)l*] is a southern adoption.¹⁾ — Like the changes of groups (a) and (b), it was of irregular appearance. Thus *e* is retained in *Chesswick* 1639, older *Chesewic* 1228, but mod. [*tʃizik*] *Cheswick*; *Schellydyke* 1538, now *Shield Dykes*, *Axsels* 1361, *Asshels* 1382 (: *Aksheles* 1344), now *Axwell*, (corrupted); *Eshells* mod. form of *Eskinschel* 1226; *Garareschell* 1378; *Wethwde*, *Wettwod* 1262, older *Wetewude* 1196 (OE (*se*) *weta wudu*) continued, with long vowel, /i/, in *Wetewod*, *Wytewod* 1314 and mod. *Weetwood* (material from Mawer). From the later period we have numerous *-strett* forms (weak-stressed /*strat*/); further *frennde* CoP 1441, 119,

¹⁾ Cf. also p. 46.

frenndly 1442, 133, *frennds* 1446, 158; but *Th. Freynde* /i/ or *u*/ *HoB* 7, *nDur* [*frend*, *frind*, *frin*].

(2) *ēr* > *är*.

As a rule, only the last spelling in *e* and the first in *a* of each word will be given.

(a) The group *er*+consonant.

Cherletona 1166, *Charletona* 1279 (OE *ceorla-tūn*), now *Charlton*; *Crassewell* 1265 etc., *Carswell* 1450 etc. (OE *cerse*, mod. Nhb. [*kras*, *kars*] 'cress'), now *Cresswell* (normalized); *Farnacres* 1311; *Farinclou* c. 1250, *Farneclogh* 1398 (ONhbn *fern*, Bülbring § 193); *Farnnilawe* 1268 etc. (< *fern-iš*), now *Fairnley* [*fa'nli*]; *Harbarwes* 1311 etc. (< *hereberge*, OWScn *herbergi*), now *Harbour House*; *Hart* 1292 (OE *heorot* or *heorte*), now *Hart*; *Hartrepoll* 1312 (c. 750 Bede *Heruteu*, now [*ha tlipu'l*]; *Kertindon* 1233, *Cartyngdon* 1314 etc. (Scn *Kiartan*); *Coponmersk* c. 1330, now *Cowpen Marsh*; *Marchen*, *Merchingburne* c. 1275 (OE *Merc*), now *March Burn*; *Werke* 1279, *Wark* 1294 (OE (3e)we(o)rc 'fortifications'), now *Wark-on-Tyne* [*wɔ:k*]; *Quarenley* 1279 etc. (OE *cweorn*), now *Wharmley*. — Inverse spellings: *Permanley* 1279 etc., (*Parmontle* c. 1135, OF *parmain* 'pearmain'); *Swerland* 1278 (*Swarla(u)nd* 1255, OE *swære* or *swæreland* 'heavy land'); *Wingherd* 1238 (earlier *wyneiard* 1237) not quite conclusive, because weak-stressed; *Yerdhopp* 1324 etc., now *Yardhope* (OE *3eard*?).

DAR: *Barnacastelle* 1387, 443 (= *Castrum Bernardi*); *le Haybarn* 1423, 619 etc., *Dur* [*ban*] (OE *bern*); *Berne pro pistrina* 1316, 11 (OE *beorme*), *Dur* [*bam*]; *le char* c. 1410, 226 (OE *cerr*); *le Fermory* c. 1435, 624, *the Farmerre* 1555, 731, sNhb [*fam*]; *herdes* 1480, 289 'hards', *le hardyn* 1486, 650 (*panni vocat. Herdyng* c. 1430, 60) (to OE *heordan*); *le harthe* 1447, 236 etc. (OE *heorð*), *Dur* [*āp*]; *kerr* 1339, 310, *Berneskarr* 1416, 318 (OWScn *kiarr*, NE dial. *car*; Björkman p. 142); *j markyng ax* 1404, 395 (ONhbn

merciȝa); 15 *pertrykes* 1408, 53, *W. Partrik* pers. n. c. 1419, 616 etc.; *sarkyngnale* 1464, 154 etc. (to OE *serc* sb. = OScn *serkær* — NED); *sarvis* 1593, 739, Dur [*sāvis*]; *Scherlings* 1378, 587, *Scharlyng* 1534, 109 'shearling sheep'; *terre* 1541, 720, *on Tarre barrelle* 1554, 731 (OE *te(o)ru*); *werk* 1404, 397, *warkmanno* 1434, 623.

FP: *Arnaldo* 1231, 50 (*Ernaldo* in a charter not later than 1196, p. 40); *Farnacre* c. 1280, 90 etc.

JR *j thwartsawe* 1491 (?), 130 (cf. *thwertsawes* DAR 1404, 396, *j twortsaw* FP 1465) (OWScn *pvert*); *j harthstane* 1416, 92; *schorlinges* 1361, 43 'shearlings'.

WR: *gart* etc., before 1447, 241; *gar(e)* c. 1460, 246 (cf. *we have gert sett to* ... CoP 1414, 87). ME *geren*, *gerren*, *garen* 'to do, make, cause', NE dial. *to gar*: OWScn *gørva*, *gerva*; Björkman p. 151.

CoP: *hertely*, *harth*, *hert* (2) 1456, 181; Dur [*āt*]; *parson* 'person' 1441, 120; *farre* 'far' 1442, 132 (*to fer* 1442, 138).

(b) The group *er* before vowels.

Barrington 1610, now *Berrington* (OE *Beringadūn* w. early shortening); *Barricke of the hill* 1595 now *Berwick Hill* (DAR 1510, 661: *a Barvico*, else regularly *Berwik*), OE *bere-wīc*, mod. ?[*berik*]¹); *Gerardesley* 1296, *Garartlee* 1443, *Garretlee* 1637; *Gerardscheles* 1290, *Garareschell* 1378, *Garrett Sheiles* 1590 (*Gerrard*-); *Erinton* 1197, *Heringtona* 1260, *Harrington* 17th c., now *Herrington* (possibly OE *Hering*-); *Querendun* c. 1190, *Querindone* c. 1150, *Queringd*' 1299, *Wharyngdon* 1457, *Wharrington* 1649, mod. *Quarrington* (: "probably OE *cweorn-dūn*"; cf. as to this derivation: *whereenstones* WR 1360, 155, *peperquerens* 1362, 158). Here belongs also the corruption of *Fayrhill* 1268 into *Farle* 1609, pron. [*faril*] and still preserved locally. The official pron. [*fɛrəl*] has developed from [*feiril*] (1208) without any shortening. The mod. spelling *Fairley* is a perversion of another kind, going back to *Fariley* 1278.

¹) For *Berwick-upon-Tweed* Ellis gives [*būik*] as the local pron. (p. 650).

DAR: *parry* 1490, 100 (OF *pereye* 'drink made of pears'); *W. Herreson* 1505, 103, *Th. Harryson* 1534, 110.

CoP: *parell* 'peril' 1441, 121 etc. (*perele* 1442, 134).

The numerous *a*-forms from c. 1250 onwards and the inverse spellings appearing about the same time prove that the change of the group *ēr*+cons. was completed about the middle of the 13th century. The tendency must be supposed to have been working for a considerable time before that date. *Arnaldo FP* 1231 is an example of this, and it will not be impossible to derive *Barton* 1199 from *bere-tūn*, a derivation which is rejected by Mawer on account of the early date of the spelling. As distinguished from the modifications under (1), the change *ēr* > *ār* before cons. was universal and caused the group *ēr*+cons. to disappear from the sound-system. This is aptly illustrated by occasional spellings in *a* of Lat. words: *pargameno FP* 1366–7, *R. Marcatoris pers. n. DAR* 1432, 232, *quarcuum* 1454, 150, *farramentis FP* 1488–9, *de . . . harbagio DAR* 1525, 107 etc., *arga* 1534, 112.

Before vowels the change is distinctively later (spellings from 1378, 1441, 1443, 1457, 1490, 1534, etc.), and it was not carried out with complete regularity, seeing that in some instances the forms in *e* have prevailed over the *a*-forms (*Berrington*, *Berwick*(?), *Herrington*). In other cases, again, the *a*-pron. has stood its ground: nDur [*arand*] 'erand' < *ǣrende* > *ārende* (+ [*īrən*] < *ārend(e)*), Dur [*vari*] 'very'.

(3) Development of *ēr* + consonant.

Hernispeth 1233 (OE *éarn* 'eagle') now *Yarnspath Law*, Nthbl. (Mawer).

DAR: *erthe warke* 1541, 720 (OE *éorðe*); Dur [*āp*, *jāp*] + nDur [*eāp*], sDur [*jēp*].

Erthenyng 1330, 518; *ernyng* 1336, 533; 1339, 311(2); *yernyng* 1371, 577; *herdnyg* 1376, 386; *hernyng* 1377, 586

'rennet'. See NED *s. vv. Earning* vbl sb.³ (*Yearning*) and *Earn* vb², ME *erne* < OE *ærnan* = *reṇnan* (causative). For *Yearnyng* the NED refers to OE *ȝe-reṇnan* 'cause to curdle'.

hearbes 1593, 737 (F *herbe*); sNhb [*hāb* + *jāb*].

Hercie Prioris 1340, 539; *hers* 1404, 395 'hearse' (OF *herce*).

-yerde 1351, 553 etc. (last instance 1441, 185); *yeard(es)* 1597, 740; OE *ȝerd*.

CoP: *erle* 'earl' 1414, 86 (OE *éorl*); *lerynd* 'learned' 1442, 137 (OE *lēornīȝa*), nDur [*lān*+*leān*], sDur [*liān*]; *termes* 'terms' 1414, 86 etc.

GA: *yearde* 1623, 51; *yard(es)* 1625, 53.

HoB: *Greynsweyrde* pl. n. 8, 9, etc. (*DAR Grensward(e)*), OE *sweárd* 'sward'.

Mod. pronunciations not represented in the texts: nDur [*ān*] 'earn', ONhbn *éarnīȝa*; nDur [*anist*], sDur [*jānist*] 'earnest', ONhbn *éornost*. nDur [*dwaɪf*, *dwaɪf*] 'dwarf', OAngl *dwerȝ*.

If the length of the vowel was retained, the *ē* was broken in initial position (cf. the development of */ē/* < *a*, *ǣ*, p. 15): *ērp* > *earp* > *iarp* > *ɪarp* > *jap*. As far as available information goes, this development is in the main restricted to sDur. Its chronology cannot be established with any certainty on the basis of the present material, but from a theoretical point of view we should expect it to be earlier than the breaking of */e/* < *a*. For a probable indication of *r*-modification of another long vowel, I refer to the spelling *yearly* *CoP* 1438, 110. The spellings *Erthenyng* etc. clearly imply vowel-length, and the regular development would lead to [*jāniȝ*], spelt *yearning*. In fact, I feel inclined to take the 1371 *yernyng* to be a phonetic spelling of some stage of this development, rather than a different word (< **ȝ(e)-ærn-*). The development of *earn-* to *yarn-* is

slightly different, in that the stage *iarn* must have given *iern* > *jarn*. This is perhaps only a Nhb. type, cf. sNhb [jāb] 'herb'. The sDur [j^ep] is another variant. When medial the vowel was not broken in nDur: [d^wāf]; but sDur has [liān].

Early shortening is postulated by nDur [an, lan, ānist, d^wāf], n & sDur [āp]. The nDur [eap, lean] allow of no definite interpretation. They may be old adoptions from StE which have been subsequently modified. The *DAR erthe*, which certainly does not stand for a pron. in /a/, may be such an adoption. The *CoP lerynd* shows a svara-bhakti type observed elsewhere, e. g. in *cweorn*-spellings (see above). This type apparently alternated with a type [lōrn] (the *DAR* copyists regularly use *q^wern* (1396, 1402, 1413) instead of *q^weren*). Both these types together would give rise to the pron. [lean].

The spellings of *swéard* show that the OE lengthening was preserved, thus securing the prevalence of the *e*-quality of the diphthong; pron. /swird > swiad/. The consistent use of *e*, later *ea*, in *yerde* suggests retention of *ē*, presumably resulting in /ī, iā/ (1597, 1623); *yard* 1625 is prob. StE.

The rest of the spellings will be found to possess some negative force, as suggesting that *e* did not change into *a*.

(4) Labial modification of *e* into *a*.

By way of introduction, I quote the following statement from EDG, § 54: 'In such words as *dwel*, *swallow* v., *swell*, *twenty*, *wed*, *well*, sb., *west*, *twelve*, *web*, *wedge*, *whelp*, the *w* has often caused the *e* to go into *a*, especially in the Sc dialects'. Mutschmann, when accounting for *a* < *e* in the neSc dialect, assigns a far wider range to the operation of *w*: 'Middle Sc *e* has become *a* after and before *w*; an intervening *r* or *l* does not prevent this change' (§ 88). The addition 'before *w*' is made in order to ex-

plain [*falə*] 'felloe' (OE *fel*₃(*e*)) and [*jalə*] 'yellow'. Now the influence of *w* in these words was certainly only an indirect one, in that the *w* imparted a labial modification to the *l*¹). The change *e* > *a* was caused by this special type of *l*. As a matter of fact, M. says in another place, 'the *l* which in this dialect always favours labialisation' (§ 64).

The scanty traces of this process noted in our texts will convey an idea of the significance of *l* as a concurring factor.

DAR: *Welsharpour* 1360, 562; *Joh. Walshe* 1394, 598; *Whelpington* 1340, 593; *W. Whalpe* 1513, 481; *j swetstan* 1465, 244; *j whatstane* 1472, 247 (cf. OE *hwettan* 'to sharpen').

FP: *W. Walssh* 1480—1; *3alow* (2) 1397, *yalow* 1411.

JR: *J. Walshe* 1432, 100.

WR: *a horse baly* c. 1447, 241 (OE *bel*₃).

The words *web*, *wedge*, *well*, sb., *west*, abundantly recorded throughout the rolls, are always spelt with *e*. With the exception of *whatstane* (which may be a scribal mistake), the change has taken place only between *w-l*, *b-l*, and before *l* in *yalow*. [*jalə*] is now a wide-spread pron. in the North (Sc, Cum, Wm, eYks, etc.), [*bal**i*] occurs in Cum etc., but the Dur dial. has [*bel**i*].

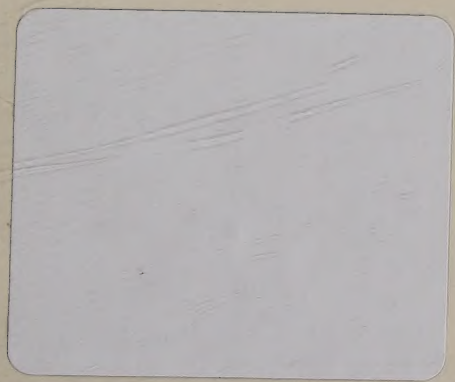
¹) It may be questioned, by the way, whether there was ever any *w* in the North. type of *fel*₃(*e*); in the Durham documents it is invariably written *fely*, *felies*.

Corrections.

- Page 12, l. 14 from top, *change on into an.*
» 12, l. 18 » » , *change as into us.*
» 16, footnote, *change 1692 into 1592.*
» 47, l. 14 from bottom, *change redell . . . ib.)*
into 1 redyll, redyls (OE hridder) 1434, 232.
» 50, l. 4 from bottom, *change 1305 into 1365.*
» 54, l. 8 » » *change /ij, iï/ into /īj, īī/.*
» 57, l. 2 » » *change /ī/ into /ī > ei/.*
» 87, footnote, *read dialectal.*
» 107, l. 6 from bottom, *read to.*
-

Corrections.

Page	66, l. 11	from top, change $\bar{e}$ into $\bar{e}$
»	82, l. 8	» bottom, change Perhaps into »Perhaps
»	82, l. 7	» » » 'a basket' into 'a basket'»
»	83, l. 17	» top read perhaps
»	92, l. 4	» » » oi, uy
»	92, l. 3	» bottom, » were
»	93, l. 16	» » » a handful
»	105, l. 15	» » » inlautes
»	107, l. 15	» top, » <i>Sheleheughe, Redheugh,</i> in <i>Heugh</i> in Esh, and
»	109, l. 5	» » » $\bar{o} >$
»	118, l. 10	» » » [<i>wisiptan</i>]
»	121, l. 15	» bottom, change nDur into sDur
»	129, l. 15	» top, read qer-
»	131, l. 2	» » change I into II
»	131, l. 5	» » » I » II
»	131, l. 15	» » » I » II
»	136, l. 6	» bottom, » (1) » (I)
»	136, l. 2	» » read Instances
»	140, l. 2	» top, » cf. p. 118
»	143, l. 11	» bottom, » type).
»	156, l. 9	» » » <i>ærende <</i>





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